

# MACLEAN'S

**BAGHDAD DIARY**

Eric Hoskins and Samantha Nutt on life in the eye of the storm

**MISSIONARY POSITION**

The NDP leadership convention as seen by Rick Salutin

**Q&A: DAVID DODGE**

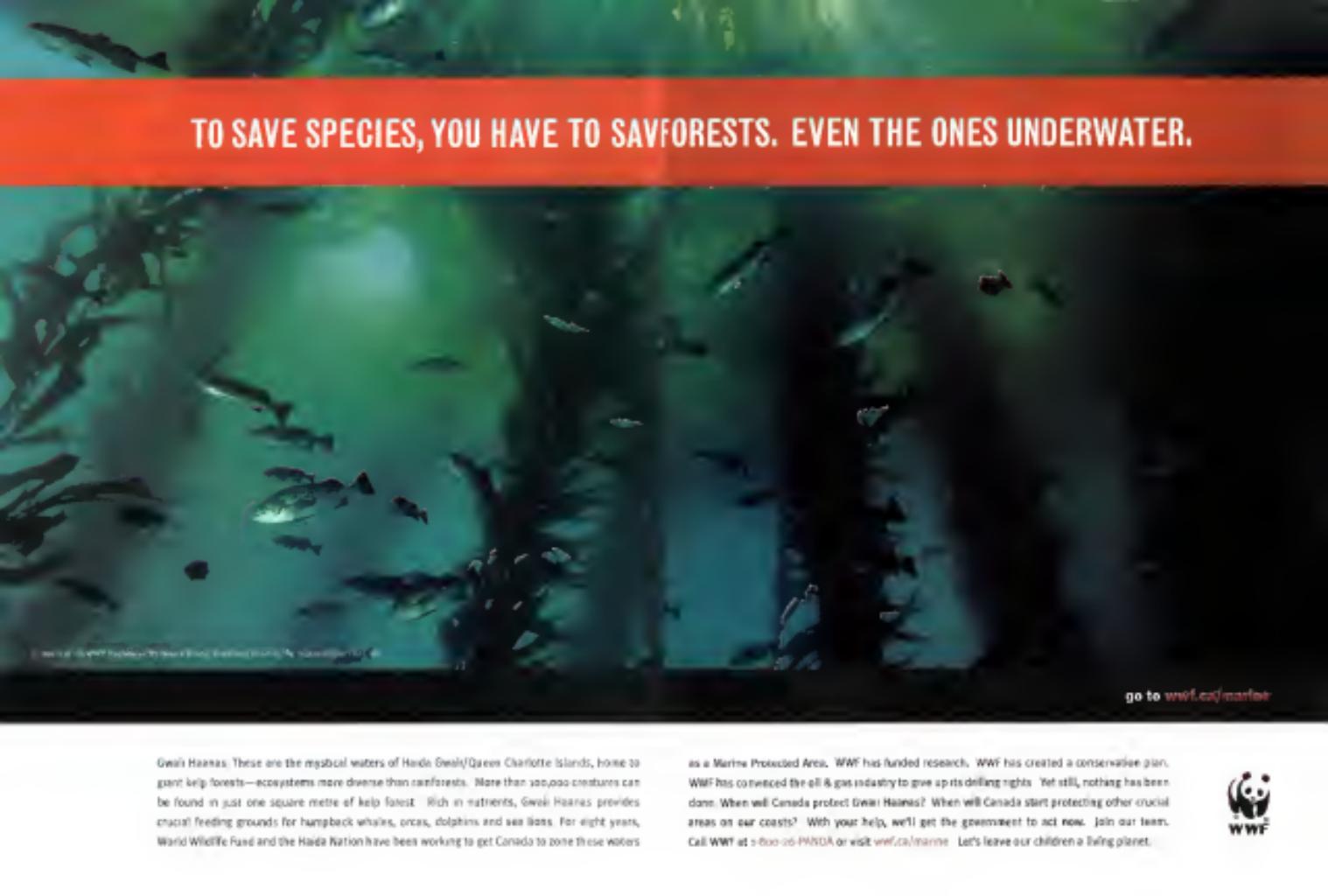
Our central banker opens up about interest-rate hikes



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Gwaii Haanas: These are the mystical waters of Haida Gwaii/Queen Charlotte Islands, home to giant kelp forests—ecosystems more diverse than rainforests. More than 300,000 creatures can be found in just one square metre of kelp forest. Rich in nutrients, Gwaii Haanas provides crucial feeding grounds for humpback whales, orcas, dolphins and sea lions. For eight years, World Wildlife Fund and the Haida Nation have been working to get Canada to zone these waters

as a Marine Protected Area. WWF has funded research. WWF has created a conservation plan. WWF has convinced the oil & gas industry to give up its drilling rights. Yet still, nothing has been done. When will Canada protect Gwaii Haanas? When will Canada start protecting other crucial areas on our coasts? With your help, we'll get the government to act now. Join our team. Call WWF at 1-800-26-PANDA or visit [wwf.ca/marine](http://wwf.ca/marine). Let's leave our children a living planet.



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# MACLEAN'S

“CANADA'S NEWEST AND BIGGEST 21ST CENTURY

## Cover Story

## AMERICA ON THE VERGE

The rhetoric is heated. The troops are on the move. Even as it mourns the crew of the space shuttle Columbia, the United States continues to prepare for war. JONATHON GATEHOUSE reports on the mood of the world's sole superpower.

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## POWER AND TRAGEDY

Amid the grief over Columbia, the U.S. confronts the burdens of leadership

**AT HOME:** the prospect of new acts of terrorism has become part of the equation of daily life for millions of Americans. Overseas, tens of thousands of their troops are pinned for a war that with each day seems more likely. Now, as if these premonitions weren't enough, the U.S., the world's most powerful nation, mourns the loss of seven astronauts—an American and five French—sent from the skies above Texas in an explosion last weekend minutes before their Columbia space shuttle was due to land. Most of the time, it's up to others to pray or mourn the United States of America, and the seemingly causal acceptance by Americans of their enormous power. But along with real war, leadership always carries a heavy price—both material and that intangible—and surely these days, Americans are entitled to reflect pensively on the unique burdens that accompany the perquisites of power.

Until the loss of the Columbia last Saturday morning, America seemed, in a remarkable degree, more isolated from the rest of the world than at any time in recent history—even as its influence on other nations has never been more profound. In a meeting I had with the great French historian for Martin Gilbert last week, he observed, matter-of-factly, that America has been the world's most powerful nation for close to a century now—but it took its role in world war for everyone to realize that. For a long time, the United States was slow to exercise its power, witness its law enforcement and both wars. Now, Americans are very aware of their stature—to the degree that they often, at least to outsiders, seem baffled or surprised at the openness of others toward their power and influence.

As National Affairs Correspondent Jonathan Cottrell discovered during a sweep through the American heartland last week, "the most remarkable thing about how few outward signs there are of the coming conflict and the consequential debate" over Iraq. Preparations for war have become a fact of everyday life—and are likely to remain so,

even as Americans and others mourn the loss of seven people who were, by any measure, role models for people everywhere.

Tragedy comes in different forms, and its aftermath can have vastly different outcomes. "War, one form of tragedy, are the ultimate expression of disavowal, and the debate over whether America should lead a war on Iraq is what results in such profound reexamination of the war's meaning and ethics," writes Michael Shurkin, the editor of *Businessweek*'s *Business Correspondent* column. "But the other form of tragedy, the Columbia disaster, is a quiet, almost imperceptible, loss that is less likely to be noticed." After the Columbia tragedy, Americans have been more inclined to accept the reality of the risks of space travel, and the astronauts' families have been more inclined to accept the reality of the risks of space travel.

The mourning over the lost seven astronauts won't stop at America's borders. The rest of the world should share the sense of loss in the same way that we did in the silent death of the last American space shuttle, the loss of the *Challenger* space shuttle 17 years and four days earlier. It's more than four decades since people first ventured into space, but each new time offers a fresh reminder that the world we share is ultimately a small place—and our most public ambitions transverse the borders that divide us.

The pursuit of great dreams brings us closer together—even when, as now, those efforts end in grief—and the seven astronauts have come to that challenge leave that realization, among other things, in their legacy.

*Anthony Wilson-Smith*

represent@maclean's.ca to comment on the Editor's Letter

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## Deputy Editor

Peter Bregg

## Editorial



What should the government do to help underfunded schools?

- Consolidate education boards
- Raise taxes
- Close more schools
- Finance another report on education

Watch. Then decide.

## MACLEAN'S BEHINDTHESCENES



### RESPECTABILITY AT LAST

Terry Mosher has never courted respectability. Now, it seems, he's had it thrust upon him.

Mosher, better known as Alistair, the Cartoon Editor of Maclean's and editorial page cartoonist for *The Gazette* in Montreal, was recently appointed to the Order of Canada. The announcement came as a surprise to the 66-year-old Mosher, who still thinks of himself as "a rascal at the back of the classroom throwing occasional spitballs at the teacher."

"I never expected it," he admits. "The high point of my career was becoming the only political cartoonist ever dimissed in the House of Commons (during Brian Mulroney's final weeks in office). But this is great, too."

Mosher, whose work is syndicated worldwide, brings to Maclean's a "very acerbic, sophisticated wit that reflects a first-hand awareness of the major players on the national scene," says Editor Anthea Wilson Smith. "We're tremendously proud to be associated with him, both for his professional achievements and his quality of character."

In addition to creating his own cartoons, part of Mosher's role at Maclean's is to introduce readers to a new generation of Canadian cartoonists. Adds Wilson Smith: "He's helping to develop and expose rising talent to a pan-Canadian audience."

Mosher says he wants to help re-establish political cartooning in Canada as a respected form of journalism. "Canada is a good vehicle for that because of its rich history of cartooning and illustration. The good news is that we still have great cartoonists working in every part of the country. I want to legitimate their exposure and up the ante."

Watch for cartoons by Alistair in future issues of Maclean's.

For further information contact [behindthescenes@maclean.ca](mailto:behindthescenes@maclean.ca)

BREAKING NEWS

CURRENT AFFAIRS

DOCUMENTARIES

ARTS & CULTURE

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**ANCIENT WOUNDS** A quote from a TV stat in Thailand—the death toll is set off a night of riots in neighbouring Cambodia. Gangs attacked this owned businesses, including a factory in Phnom Penh (above). The anger arises from the suggestion that Cambodia had somehow stolen the revered temple of Angkor Wat, site of a contested capital centuries ago.

## WORLD

**PRIMATES** Taking aim at a different ape, President George W. Bush pledged \$1.65 billion over the next five years to fight the AIDS epidemic in Africa and the Caribbean, a slingshot of U.S. efforts. Canadian diplomat Stephen Lewis, a UN envoy on AIDS, and the American initiative “open the floodgates of hope.”

In his State of the Union address, Bush also announced US\$1.2 billion over 10 years to develop an environmentally pure, hydrogen-fuelled car. Coupled with grants of accelerated tax cuts and the anticipated costs of war with Iraq, economists are predicting the U.S. deficit could soar to \$683 billion in 2003, a big test for George Bush senior, who was president in 1991.

**TERROR** American and Afghan troops conducted air-to-ground strikes for renegade Taliban fighters following the biggest but the longest year. At least 18 of nearly 90 rebel fighters were killed at a huge covey-strike near Afghanistan’s southeastern border with Pakistan. U.S. officials said Taliban supporters were also blamed for a bus bomb that killed 13 Afghans near Kabul earlier in the week.

Short-hand terrorist: Richard Reid, an unapologetic 29-year-old British citizen who

tried to blow up an international jetliner with explosive hidden in his shoes, was sentenced to life in prison by a U.S. judge.

## CANADA

**MIRACLE** A fil worker raised her Mississauga for paradise—because the drug to life by name moments from a month previously, the nearly naked child with umbilical cord still intact was found by a passerby on a concrete step at Brampton City Hall in 18°C weather. After hours of reanimation at a local hospital, she is now expected to make a complete recovery and over 100 families have lined up to adopt her. Police have charged a 41-year-old lone female less woman who has lived in shelter for nearly seven years with abandonment.

**HORSE KILLERS** Police in northern Alberta are looking for a serial killer who has shot 10 horses, killing six of them, along a 240-km stretch of highway between Edmonton and Bonnyville.

**PRIVACY** Federal privacy commissioner George Radwanski and Ottawa are absolving the threat of terrorism to collect too much “Big Brother” data, including travel information that could be parsed to identify ethnicity or other criminal intent in a heat of unrelated stats.

A Reg.-based data management firm warning hundreds of thousands of Canadians about identity theft after a competitor had done so previously information was lost or stolen from its premises. African clients of IBM Canada, a subsidiary of IBM Canada, include Co-operators Life Insurance Co. and Saskatchewan government agencies.

**ANARCHY** A Richmond, B.C., doctor has been ordered to pay \$335,000 to the parents of a child with Down syndrome for failing to under a prenatal test for genetic defects on a pregnant woman over 35. This is the second high-profile “wrong birth” case in Canada involving a Down’s baby.

Ontario’s Court of Appeal said police need a specific search warrant to fly over suburban homes seeking indoor marijuana-growing operations with an infrared device that measures exceptional energy loss

Otherwise, the court said, it is an invasion of privacy.

A judge in B.C. has thrown out that portion of the Elections Act that prohibits publishing how Atlantic Canadians voted before western polls close. Elections Canada is appealing the five-speed victory of Web site operator Paul Bryan, charged with “parliamentary transmission” of the November 2000 election.

**BUSINESS** In a surprise buyout of the batch et, Air Canada sold 15 percent of its Airpoints frequent flier program to OneWest, the man who waged a bitter struggle to buy the airline in 1999. The \$25-million stake gives Air Canada needed cash and OneWest a foothold in the growing business of loyalty points.

Bankrupt telecommunications conglomerate WorldCom Inc. is selling 120-year-old Douglas Lake Ranch in the B.C. interior, the largest privately owned property in Canada. The 300,000-hectare ranch, which houses 22,000 cattle and 15 fallow moose, belonged to former CEO Bernard Ebbers and is expected to fetch at least \$80 million.

Alberta Energy Resources said the province is at least open to the idea of using sand and shale rock fractures, instead of natural gas to supply the energy-hungry process of extracting oil from northern tar sands. CANOIL seller AtcoGas Energy of Canada Ltd. approached the province with the idea.

The Canadian Food Inspection Agency is proposing broad new regulations to enforce

**TRIAL** **W.L.** The City of Randy can no longer claim exclusive rights to the world’s highest tides. Federal scientists have ruled that the tides are of equal magnitude around the tiny Inuit community of Leaf Beach at the southern tip of Uvanga Bay.

**POLITICS** Angry over provincial budget cuts to a local hospital, Delta South voters de-livered a 13,000-name petition to Elections B.C. to recall Liberal MLA Valerie Boddyk. If the names are verified, she could be the first politician forced to resign and seek re-election under the controversial act.

The Chrétien government’s campaign finance bill will cost taxpayers \$40 million this election year and \$3 million between elections, officials said. The proposed law is intended to change the notion that money buys influence, by capping union and corporate donations at \$1,000, placing a \$10,000 ceiling on individual contributions, and paying parties \$1.50 a year for each vote they received in the previous election.

**FOOD** Swedish scientists consider non-GMO bread and flour products that contain the by-product acrylamide. A previous study in April revealed a spike of tougher baked goods regulations in the U.S. and Europe. But the scientists who started the scare now say there is not enough of the cancer-causing ingredient in most foods to affect more than a minute.

The Canadian Food Inspection Agency is proposing broad new regulations to enforce



**UNDENIED** Former B.C. premier Mike Harcourt made his first public appearance at an environmental awards ceremony, since the devastating fall of his cottage on May 20.

**OXIDANT LABELLING** Packaging that prevents raspberry flavouring, for example, will have to spell out the amount of actual raspberries in the product.

**SURVEY** StatsCan is asking Canadian what their sexual preferences are, in order, it says, to build a database for human rights cases. The quota on is included in a health survey of 130,000 Canadians that began last month.

## Noted | Dollars and votes

More than most politicians, Harper’s love of the nation that money determines political outcomes, observes political commentator Graham Murray in his memoir *From the Heart*. Queen’s Park, 2001, says Murray, took an NDP apparatus into himself. “It’s hard to ignore the math in election filings in November, Toronto councillor Jack Layton reported a \$46,472 seat share, representing 50.7 per cent of the federal seat he so leadership concluded. He won with 51.5 per cent of the convention vote.”

Another Bill Blaikie’s tally accounted for 21.4 per cent. The New Democratic Party’s share of the vote, Saskatchewan’s lone Member of Parliament, Jack Layton reported a 10.6 per cent share of donations, and 5.2 per cent of the ballot, while Windsor’s Joe Cetimski had 6.5 per cent of the dollars versus 7.7 per cent of the votes. Consideration



## Mansbridge on the Record



## A VISIT WITH TARIQ AZIZ

The perks for Iraq's deputy PM include a "small" palace—and access to CNN

**DICTIONARIES** like monasteries, all kinds of them. Stories so they can be seen, knowing over the people, and impressive buildings so they can leave an architectural legacy.

In Iraq, the dictator must love monuments because they're everywhere. Statues by the dozens and scores of grand buildings that all seem to carry a house the tallest, the largest that. There's a new mosque and to be the tallest in the world, there are presidential palaces that are huge—one makes Buckingham Palace look like a dollhouse. (Don't worry, Toronto, there are no plans for a taller free-standing structure... yet.)

One of the smaller palaces in home base for Tariq Aziz, for 40 years one of Saddam's closest advisers, now the deputy prime minister, had a rare visit the other day to interview the man known as the "friendly" face of Iraq, though "friendly" he did not sound—his words were full of defiance, threats and contempt. But it was the atmosphere around the visit I'll remember most, not the words.

Baghdad can be a dark city—there's a grayness to it during the day, and at night the poorly lit streets give it a sinister, brooding feel. After passing through security checks we drove up a well-lined private roadway to the palace entrance. It's what they call a "government" palace, about five stories high, sculpted in beige stone, decorated with marble, perhaps expected floors, and giant crystal chandeliers. Impressive, yes—but also dusty and, for the most part, empty.

No one met us at the huge front door where the Iraqi golden eagle rests on the transom, but we had a vague idea of where to go and went straight for the elevator. Still no one. When we stepped off at the Aziz floor, a few bodyguards appeared. One asked, "Do you have a gun?" When he was convinced we didn't, we were ushered into waiting rooms beside the deputy PM's office.

Aziz was inside, apparently alone, with the door closed. It was the day Iraq was

## Passages

**OBITUARY** Sydney, N.B., native Bill McNeil became a radio broadcaster in order to get out of the cold mines of Glace Bay. In 1968, he started the popular CBC Radio show *Find Air*, which drew up two million listeners in Ontario and Quebec on weekend mornings. He also travelled around Canada interviewing people for the national program *Line of Fire*. McNeil, 78, died of kidney failure.

**HONOR** Montreal Alouettes coach Dan Matthews, 63, was voted CFL coach of the year for an unprecedented fifth time. The

 Matthews, 63, who has served as head coach for six CFL teams and won five Grey Cup titles, has the most wins (202) and a 100% winning percentage in the league's history.

**RECOGNITION** Irish actor Peter O'Toole asked the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences to defer an honorary award he was scheduled to receive at the 74th Academy Awards in March (he's been nominated for best actor seven times but has never won). The 70-year-old performer has two movies coming out this year and said he will "rightly win the lovely bigger outright." He would like the Academy to hold off until he's 80.

**LOSING** At 60, Time Warner reeled from US\$44.9-billion losses in its fourth quarter, company vice chairman Ted Turner announced in a sweeping cleanup. The Atlanta-based tycoon, who founded CNN in 1980, was stripped of his operating power two years ago as a result of the US\$16-billion merger of the two media giants—and became disillusioned with the direction of the company. Turner, 64, says he'll focus on his philanthropic activities.

**OBITUARY** Hugh Trevor Roper was a British intelligence officer when he investigated Hitler's death in 1945. In his 1947 best-seller *The Last Days of Hitler*, he helped prove that the dictator had committed suicide. In 1983, the Oxford professor suffered a blow to his reputation when he authenticated forged Hitler diaries. Trevor-Roper, 88, died of cancer in Oxford.

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## THE WEEK



### History | Two-timing a king

Most people are familiar with the basics of the Abdication crisis of 1936: after the British government refused to allow King Edward VIII to wed the already twice-married Wallis Simpson—an American divorcee—and stay on the throne, he gave it all up for "the woman I love" and lived in exile until his death in 1972. (See details released last week by Britain's public records office: add an extra layer of irony to the sad tale, with reports of high-society two-timing and desperate political struggles to stay on the throne.)

In 1935, Scotland Yard had determined that Simpson, while still married to her hapless second husband, Thirtorn, was not only continuing adulterous with Edward, but also having another affair with a "very charming divorcee," our subscriber Guy Bawden. Scotland Yard even felt she was hanging on to Edward for "financial reasons" while "keeping her secret lover in the background."

(Towdry, but this was hardly as damaging as the FBI report released last year that claimed she was also having an affair around then with a high-ranking Nazi, Joseph von Ribbentrop, then German ambassador to Britain, and that he sent Simpson bouquets of caresses, one for each sexual encounter.)

Still, a hesitant Edward was trying to find a way to keep the crown and Wallis Simpson. Even Canada was dragged into the issue as the newly independent "Dominions" had to approve any abdication. In a letter to British Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin in November 1936, Moderate King added his disapproval of a possible marriage. But the Canadian prime minister discovered the public opinion could turn against the political crisis if abdication was seen as being "inspired" on a French popular song.

On Dec. 3, 1936, the British papers broke their long-standing tradition of the royal romance and, that night, Baldwin cracked his knuckles through the back gate

Edward and Wallis in 1936 (left) settled, he wanted to keep the crown and his new bride

in tact. Edward The King wanted to keep his own cast directly to his subjects. A draft offers a tantalizing glimpse into what might have been: "I am firmly resolved to marry the woman I love, when she is free to marry me," he writes, suggesting Simpson would be Edward's wife, but not queen, and they would leave the country for a time until the fuss subsided. The next day, Baldwin refused Edward's request. The prime minister warned him not to make a public appeal, reasoning that the last research to disqualify Parliament was Charles I in 1642, an event that sparked a civil war. Days later, Edward VIII signed the Instrument of Abdication, made his dramatic speech about being unable to be king "without the help and support of the woman I love," and made off into history's disapproving glare.

PATRICK TIBBLE

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MADELINE S. | FEBRUARY 19, 2002 | 15



Cover

# AMERICA ON THE VERGE

The rhetoric is heated. The troops are on the move. At a time of tragedy, the world's remaining superpower prepares for war, reports JONATHON GATEHOUSE.

**THE URBAN CAMOUFLAGE** A pretty young—buggy jeans and hoodies, hooded sweatshirts, knit caps to cover close-cropped hair—but they're not mistaking the sentence of the middle-aged men and women who are stepping off planes of *America, Ale or Imperial*. Red in this pub in downtown Fayetteville, N.C. They swagger when they cross the room, stand too straight at the bar, and address strangers as "sir." And even as they listen to the local bands pump out Hendrix riffs and ruggedified versions of Bob Dylan chestnuts, their hands are fixed on freeway

places. "I'm ready. North Korea, Iraq, it doesn't matter. I'll go wherever I'm needed. I love my country," proclaims Jessie Gay, a 21-year-old paratrooper from Montana. He and his buddy, Stephen Whittle, a 22-year-old Texan, have just returned from a six-month tour of duty in Afghanistan, to their base at Fort Bragg, 10 km northwest of Fayetteville. They're enjoying being back in the land of running water and free-flowing beer, but they're speaking for a "real" fight. "I feel like I was doing something over there but it was almost peacekeeping," says

Gay. "I wouldn't mind some action." White wives "have a different..." The call could come at any time, he says. "If the President decides war they can send us right back out. People don't want to see any more American lives lost, but it's our job." They laugh giddily when asked if the ladies in the bar are being treated to the same speech.

Down the highway, past the powerplants, strip clubs and fast-food restaurants, the mood in this sprawling military complex is taurine—aggression, audacious, supreme confidence. In the State of the Union address

last week, George W. Bush set the clock toward a confrontation with Iraq. "America will not accept a serious and mounting threat to our country, our friends and our allies," the President warned. "If Saddam Hussein does not fully disarm, we will lead a coalition to disarm him." The loss of the space shuttle Columbia and its seven-member crew on Saturday, though tragic, is unlikely to significantly alter the timetable for an administration down by the minority of the more than 3,000 who died on Sept. 11. U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell is

scheduled to appear before the Security Council on Feb. 5, to make what a hearing characterized as a final appeal for the UN's blessing. Hostilities could begin within weeks. Many of the soldiers already know they are shipping to the Middle East as soon as the coast frosters this week. The administration has yet to order anyone. "We exceed and I'm nervous," says Sgt. Brad Polanday, a member of the 523rd Airborne Infantry Regiment, who is leaving his first overseas assignment. The Wisconsin native will leave his wife and five young children behind at

skipping regiments are undergoing advanced paratrooper training, learning to find hidden flaws in the complex web of pack, strap and lines attached to their torso. Many of the soldiers already know they are shipping to the Middle East as soon as the coast frosters this week. The administration has yet to order anyone. "We exceed and I'm nervous," says Sgt. Brad Polanday, a member of the 523rd Airborne Infantry Regiment, who is leaving his first overseas assignment. The Wisconsin native will leave his wife and five young children behind at

For Bragg, "They're pretty much like any other family. They're not thrilled, but they know it's my job," he says. "Besides, they know I wouldn't be happy if I wasn't going."

Staff Sgt. David L. Haywood, a 15-year veteran of the Army, has four children. He was stationed in 1991, when he fought in the first Gulf War. In his off-duty, military existence, he says he's looking forward to more action—"Roger that," or—"our airmen that some of the things he experienced in the desert 12 years ago still linger. "I saw a lot of stuff that made with one—burned corpses, things of that nature. That kind of visual is something that doesn't go away," says Haywood. "The young guys are eager. A lot of times I have to let them know it's not a game. This is real world stuff. It's dangerous. You have to keep it in perspective."

The stress of combat and revolving-door deployments has already been felt on the base. Last summer, as the first batch of soldiers came back from Afghanistan, there were five fatal incidents of domestic violence. All demobilizing personnel and their families now receive lectures on coping with the pressures of returning home, and the counseling services available to them—although the focus returns more on preparing troops to go to war than come back to peace.

Second World War-era barracks serve as the offices for the chaplains of the 2,029th Garrison Support Unit—a reserve unit from Georgia that has been called up to help prepare the headquarters of National Guard and paratroopers who are being deployed overseas. A stable is covered with learned kempetic crosses, done in embossed leather by local church groups. Ms. Howard Lucas, a Baptist pastor from Fayetteville, has been back on active duty for the past eight months, talking and praying with outgoing soldiers as they prepare to face harsh, and perhaps their maker. Lucas, who ministered to troops in South Africa during the first Gulf War, says those who occasionally have concerns about visiting the 60th's commandant, "try to let people know that God finds in a tragedy any time a human life is taken, but we live in an evil world," he says. "To stand by and let evil take over is wrong. I don't think it's bad to let soldiers know that this fellow was also a husband or a father, but he was also an enemy who was



From left: Bragg says Americans will probably rally round the Regs; Haywood (top) is still set

actively participating. It's slightly to stand in the way of people that are closing evil."

These days, in the aftermath of Sept. 11, Lucas and the other chaplains often send the troops off with a lesson from Psalm 9: "When enemies are named back, they shall still prevail and perish at thy presence." It reads in part: "Those that rebuked the heathen, thou hast destroyed the wicked, thou hast put out their name for ever and ever." "I call it God's 9/11 plan," says Lucas.

"**—IRAQ,**" they young men across from the power plant, in the souped-up Dodge Charger drivers just the demonstrators. Lemire, Yarger and her three colleagues, muffled against the freezing temperatures and holding homemade placards that say "Don't kill us" and "No blood for Oil," don't even flinch. The group—sometimes bigger, sometimes smaller—has been marching in front of the post office on Chapel Hill's main street every Monday night since Sept. 11, 2001, pushing the cause of peace. More people hook in support than have

joined, they say. The students, carrying signs from churches at the University of North Carolina across the street, loudly give them a glance as they pass by.

Yarger, a Catholic lay worker from nearby Selby Hope, has just returned from Iraq. She's not buying the arguments that Bush and others in his administration are making about waging a "just war" to liberate a populace from a totalitarian regime. "Saddam is a brutal dictator, but the people of Iraq shouldn't be held responsible for his acts—a war will kill tens of thousands of them," says Yarger. "All we've done with 12 years of international sanctions is deprive the people of Iraq of the freedoms they wanted. We've taken over their health care, their education system, drastically lowered their standard of living. I just don't trust my government to tell me what the Iraqi people want."

The unexpectedly large turnout at the last major public demonstration against a war with Iraq—hundreds of thousands of Americans took to the streets on Jan. 18—has hardened peace activists, but their

Peace activists Yarger (left), Lemire (top) and Goff are lobbying against Washington's plans

prospects of stopping a conflict before it starts seem dim. One opinion poll after Bush's State of the Union address showed support for war rising to 77 percent. The members of most of the U.S. studios to pursue a conflict without the support of the United Nations, but experts of all stripes agree that American voters will follow the Johnson pattern of rallying around the flag once a military campaign begins. Peter Feaver, a political science professor at Duke University in Durham, N.C., and a former director of defense policy affairs memo for the National Security Council, says Bush and his circle of advisors are watching public opinion but aren't basing their decisions on it. "The President knows that if he goes to war decisively, he'll have the support he needs," says Feaver. "And he knows that if he goes to battle it, it won't matter if people supported him in advance or not."

The military option enjoys strong support in North Carolina, which is home to the major military installations and dozens of thousands of national servicemen and women. A survey conducted last month found nearly two-thirds of readers support Bush's stance, though the number fell to only 21 percent among African-American readers. Mandy Carter, a development coordinator for Durham-based advocacy group Southern on New Ground, says minority communities in the U.S. are not only dealing with the rising of anti-terror legislation—such as many Arabs and East Asians being forced to register with the government—but also a greater problem of racial inequality. "How can we be going over to protest the

prosperity of France's Jacques Chirac and Germany's Gerhard Schröder to speak out against the war option three weeks ago deeply angered Bush, and the administration is letting it be known that it will stand firm against nations that erect roadblocks to an aggressive effort to dislodge Saddam.

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"George Bush is every bit as much a racist as Saddam Hussein, who was, by the way, a president since World War II," says Goff, a 30-year-old. "The war on terror is a failure, a blimp, and American troops now in Afghanistan, and soon in Iraq, will find themselves buried down in a hostile environment just like he experienced in Somalia." "I think we're witnessing the decline of the American empire. It's a very dangerous time."

Eric Galtung, a 32-year-old Gulf War vet, acknowledges organization Veterans for Common Sense, is hearing more and more doubts about Bush's long strategy from the community of 700,000 Americans who served in 1991. "Until the last time around was a just war. Iraq invaded another country. It's not just us. We had a UN mandate," he says. "But this time, I hear a reputation of long-standing American

**NOT EVERYONE IS BUYING THE PRESIDENT'S ARGUMENTS THAT THE U.S. MUST VAGE A 'JUST WAR' TO LIBERATE THE IRAQI PEOPLE FROM A TOTALITARIAN REGIME**

tradition? The idea of a "pre-emptive war" is troubling for many veterans, says Gustafson, who worries that the new lower threshold for hostilities could lead America into a perpetual state of conflict.

And while the media seems to be obsessed with opinion polls that torture at demon strations—trying to gauge the feelings of the American public—Gustafson says they and the White House may be vastly underestimating the real level of opposition to the war. He points to anovet.org, an Internet-based group that raised enough donations to air an anti-war commercial during the Super Bowl. "For a lot of Americans, joining in a big national rally where some of the folks up on stage are statemen is not natural," says Gustafson. "Personally, I hate protests. But that doesn't mean I'm in favor of our Iraq policy."

**IF AMERICA** is indeed a country on the verge of war, the most sensible thing is how few revised signs I see here are of the coming conflict and the cooling internal debate. The flags that decorated every front porch, car antenna, and highway overpass in the weeks and months after Sept. 11 have rarely been packed away. Unlike 1991, there are no yellow ribbons and around 100,000 flags for the boys and girls already serving overseas. And the meager boards of fast-food restaurants promote 99-cent burgers, not support for the troops.

Even Washington, which felt like a city under siege for months after a hijacked plane crashed into the Pentagon, has returned to a semblance of normalcy. The restaurants are open to tourists again and construction of the huge new National World War Memorial is well under way on the Mall. More streets are open to drivers, and it's police officers, not armed soldiers, who man the checkpoints outside government buildings. The gates near the White House still track their interlocutors on the spurs, but have a pithos in which to take refuge from the cold. And in the last of the tents, protesters are again allowed to picket on Pennsylvania Avenue, in groups no larger than 25, between the hours of 9 a.m. and 5 p.m., as long as they stay in constant motion along the perimeter of the White House.

The State of the Union address was broadcast on all of the major networks, but in



Gustafson says the idea of a "pre-emptive war" is troubling for many Gulf War veterans.

comparison to last year, fewer Americans seemed to be looking to the President for answers. In bars and restaurants, you were more likely to find reticence to college basketball than the events on Capitol Hill. And many of those who did watch said they were disappointed. Even though Bush spent more than half of his hour-long speech focusing on the economy and other domestic policy issues, the public seems to doubt that the Republicans have the capacity to concentrate on any issue other than Iraq in the coming months. Louise Woodcroft, a schoolteacher from Virginia, and the crew in a falteringly blaring economy seemed like window dressing. "We need some sort of plan to create jobs, and get things moving again," she said. "But it's clear to me that's not the biggest issue for the President. He's going to scratch right whether anybody likes it or not."

Bob Stoenner, who works tables and tends bar at a downtown restaurant, also thinks the economy should be the government's number 1 priority. "It's more important for us to be in good shape here than to retali-

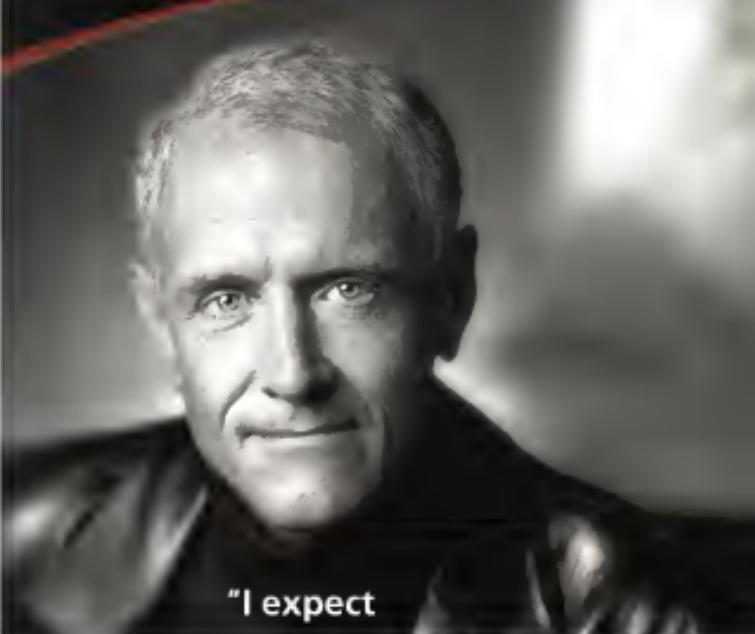
ate against somebody on the other side of the world, but the Republicans don't seem to think that way." She's not willing to be convinced that war with Iraq is a necessity. "A lot of other people have weapons of mass destruction. So why are we going to war now? Why with them? Nobody's explaining that to me."

Doubts were also being voiced in North Carolina. In the Fayetteville cemetery, where generations of America's soldiers have found their final resting place, Maya Solonson and her mother Odie were paying their respects to the departed. Her son is already serving in Afghanistan, and the potential for war with Iraq is weighing heavy on Solonson's mind. "Really, it's just about safety to leave in God's hands," she said, surveying the red, white and blue flags that sprout from so many of the tombstones. "I don't want him to pay the price, but I know that if this is like Vietnam, there will be plenty of that."

PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFFREY D. STONE

## TO SOME, VOWS TO FIX THE ECONOMY SEEMED LIKE WINDOW DRESSING

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Cover | BY JONATHON GATEHOUSE, JAMES BEACON AND ROBERT SHEPPARD

# A NATION MOURNS

"Mankind was led beyond our world by the inspiration of discovery. The cause in which they died will continue."

The President praised the courage of those men and women who assume "great risk in the service of all humanity." The Columbia's crew,

**FOR LONG MINUTES**, the crowd of family, friends, dignitaries and spectators stood at the end of the tarmac in Cape Canaveral, Fla., waiting and hoping for a ferocious white plume to burst into the Atlantic ocean, as the countdown clock reached zero, it was clear the mission would never come. Just days after NASA marked the anniversary of its two previous fatal accidents, a new atmosphere—and more questions—about the future of U.S. space exploration.

The grisly footage from television cam-

eras at the ground told the story: The shuttle Columbia, streaking through the sky at 18 times the speed of sound, 20,000 feet above Texas on its way to the Atlantic coast, suddenly broke apart after re-entering the atmosphere. Some debris revolutionized as it fell to earth. The Columbia, the oldest shuttle in NASA's fleet, was returning home from a successful 16-day research mission, carrying a crew of seven—Americans Rick Husband, Michael Anderson, William Mc-

Cool, David Brown, Laurel Clark, Kalpana Chawla, and Ilan Ramon, Israel's first astronaut. It was the craft's 28th trip since its inaugural 1981 mission, and the 113th flight in the shuttle program's 22-year history.

In a televised address from the White House, George W. Bush expressed his sympathy to the families of the dead and praised the courage of the men and women who assume "great risk in the service of all humanity." But the President vowed that the space program will not be stopped. "The

from left to right: Michael Anderson, William McCool, Rick Husband, David Brown, Laurel Clark, Ilan Ramon and Kalpana Chawla.

cause in which they died will continue," he said. "Mankind walked into the darkness beyond our world by the inspiration of discovery and a longing to understand. Our journey into space will go on." Bush offered his grieving nation comfort from the words of the prophet Isaiah: "Lift your eyes and look to the heavens. Who created all these? He who brings out the starry hosts one by one and calls them each by name, because of His great power and majestic strength, not one of them is missing." The President said the

space power is now caring for the souls of the seven crew members.

Although the presence of the Israeli astronaut aboard the Columbia had heightened security concerns about the mission, there were no indications that terrorism was a factor in the disaster. Tom Ridge, the U.S. homeland security director, became involved soon after NASA lost contact with the craft, but the emergency height and speed of the shuttle put it well beyond the reach of any surface-based missile.





The Challenger on its launch pad at Cape Canaveral on Jan. 15. There were no indications that terrorism was a factor in the disaster.

After the Challenger explosion in January 1986, NASA spent 12 months investigating the cause of the disaster and improving shuttle safety. It seems unlikely there will be such a lengthy investigation in light of this time around. There are currently three astronauts—two Americans and a Russian—on the International Space Station. Although they have a Russian-built escape capsule on board, and enough supplies and time, NASA administrators have already indicated they would prefer to bring them home sooner, aboard another shuttle. Canadian astronaut Steve MacLean has been scheduled to join the crew of the space station in April, but it now seems unlikely if his launch will go ahead as planned. Canadian Space Agency officials would only say they are awaiting for NASA to make a full assessment.

It will probably take months to pinpoint the exact cause of the accident. Early indi-

cations suggest a failure of the craft's heat shield, allowing an amateur statistician to disintegrate during re-entry. The circumstances are very similar to an incident during the shuttle's launch on Jan. 16, when a piece of insulation failed on the external fuel tank causing a leak and prompted the self-destruct. A NASA official had told reporters that engineers considered the damage to the wing to be minor, but not at that time. It's not.

The shuttle's home is in at least two other countries. Kalpana Chawla, who emigrated to the U.S. from India in the 1980s and was making her second trip into space, was considered a national hero in her home land. Han Ramon, a colonel in the Israeli air force, was remembered for his exploits in the 1973 Yom Kippur War and his participation in the 1981 bombing raid that destroyed an Iraqi nuclear reactor. His enthusiasm in the latest shuttle mission was a source of tremendous pride in Israel—the country issued a stamp to honour the occasion. Hanrahan spoke with Prime Minister Ariel Sharon in mid-flight, and Israeli officials followed

that this is a very risky endeavour, pushing back the frontiers of outer space," an emotional Bill Kenney, NASA's associate administrator for space flight, told reporters. "After 113 flights, people had a tendency to look at it as routine. It's not."

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Kennedy Space Center staff lower the flag after the Columbia is lost (left). The accident evoked the tragedy, 13 years ago, of the Challenger (right).

the progress of the mission closely. Retired general Heribert Bodenberger, commander of the Canadian force from 1992 to 1996, was a long-time friend of Ramon and had gathered with others to watch the shuttle land. "From a personal point of view, that is a terrible loss," he said. "All his friends were sitting near the television screen, waiting to hear his first words. It was very tough—we all saw the shuttle disintegrate."

The loss will be tough on the nation as well, produced Ben Aharon, a leading Israeli defence analyst. As the shuttle mission ended with the Palestine uprising dragging on and the country facing a war with Gaza, Ramon's mission "was one of the few bright spots in the national life for the last 2½ years," he said. "This just gives you the feeling that no matter what you do, you should keep on the road."

At today's, the Columbia's mission was the longest in several years, and was specifically

designed to get the most out of the 80 scientific investigations the astronauts on board were carrying out. Since space exploration began, it has probed both the planetary system and what has also been called the outer universe—the effects of zero-gravity on the human body and the conservation of new medicinal compounds. Columbia was no exception. In research projects, all carefully selected, ranged from studying kidney stones and sleep habits to the more trivial understanding of cell biology and fluid in the brain.

Two Canadian projects, designed by teams of scientists from across the country, were part of the flight. One was a space science researcher who was trying to determine how to grow more perfect protein crystals in space, a potential building block in the creation of more powerful cancer drugs. The other was studying osteoporosis and other diseases of bone disease—giving advantage of the peculiar effects of space travel wherein astronauts tend to lose bone mass.

For many at NASA, the tragic irony of the timing of the disaster will be one of the biggest pills to swallow. Astronauts and flight engineers will now have three tragic anniversaries and 17 deaths to mourn in a one week span. On Jan. 28, Rick Husband spoke from space, paying tribute to the three astronauts who died in the Apollo 1 launch pad fire on Jan. 27, 1967, and the seven who died aboard the Challenger on Jan. 28, 1986. "They made the ultimate sacrifice, giving their lives and service to their country and for all mankind," said Columbia's commander. "Their dedication and devotion to the exploration of space was an inspiration to each of us."

With Eric Silver in Houston



IT WILL LIKELY TAKE MONTHS TO PINPOINT THE CAUSE OF THE ACCIDENT

THE SHUTTLE BROKE APART IN THE UPPER REACHES OF THE ATMOSPHERE



# 'PANIC' IN BAGHDAD

Iraq's forces appear to be hopelessly unprepared, writes SCOTT TAYLOR

**OUTSIDE** a three-story house in Baghdad, 30 Iraqi soldiers and a handful of officer officers were engaged in a noisy debate. In preparation for war, and possible street fighting in the capital, some Iraqi troops are being moved off their bases and into civilian buildings. The new facilities are often uncomfortable, and this particular argument was over beds—who would get the best one as the soldiers unloading them from a truck. "I think Iraq is finished," said Wahid Ibrahim, a 46-year-old former sergeant major, as he doggedly watched from a nearby chicken restaurant. "Look what our once-proud army has been reduced to."

Such was the combat against the Iranian in-

side in a city of instruments, to dead soldiers (above)—and to Saddam

In the 1980s, then less than a decade ago, the 1991 Gulf War, his two oldest boys were ready and ordered to report for service. With chief UN weapons inspector Hans Blix suggesting Iraq has been uncooperative, and with George W. Bush viewing it as a removal candidate by force, Sarah fears for his son. "I would be proud to see my son in uniform," said the determined veteran. "But they will be facing the military might of the U.S. They have great sorrow in their hearts that they will soon be martyrs."

Just prior to Bush's State of the Union

address last week, Bushmen was seen on national TV, telling his top generals that "real men should not panic." But panic may best describe the current state of Iraq's leadership. Seemingly taken aback by Bush's demand for more information and Bush's apparent determination to push ahead with war even without UN approval, the Iraqi leadership had difficulty even organizing news conferences in presenting a concise response to Bush's allegation that Iraq still possesses weapons of mass destruction.

In contrast to harried government officials, many Iraqis seem unalarmed. One possible explanation: they are simply beyond caring. "They've had it both mentally and phys-

ically," said Dennis Haddad, a former UN humanitarian aid coordinator who is returning to meet with international peace groups. "These people will say, 'Allah's will for us is to die, so be it.' After two decades of conflict they've stopped worrying about a future."

Saddam has vacated food rations and taken steps to ensure that other necessities will be available, at least intermittently. Haddad, who resigned from the UN in 1998, said that Iraqi citizens have received an additional three months' worth of sustenance in anticipation of the war. "If there is only one thing that would force the people of Iraq to rise up and overthrow the government, it would be starvation," Haddad said.

Saddam has also moved to ensure an adequate water supply. During the Gulf War, water and sewage treatment facilities and pumping stations were destroyed by air strikes. Iraqis were forced to draw water directly from the polluted Tigris River. Thousands, mostly of their young children, died from dysentery and other water-borne diseases. The Iraqi government has launched an initiative that encourages residents with property around their homes to sink 18-m wells. Crews have also drilled wells in some parking lots in the centre of Baghdad. "The water will still need to be boiled before it's safe to drink," said Haddad, "but it will certainly be more sanitary than river water."

One of the stated objectives of the U.S. war plan is to obliterate what's left of Iraq's powerful grid. Since 1991, when an already devastated generating system, Iraq has learned to live with blackouts. But most major buildings and larger homes have been equipped with generators. Emergency fuel reserves have also been built throughout the central business district in refineries, to supply generators in the event of war.

Meanwhile, authorities have called up thousands of young conscripts. On the outskirts of Baghdad, the recruits—many still wearing their own civilian-faded up last week to practice basic drills. These crude parade grounds are on sites that were targets of previous air strikes. The rubble of destroyed buildings, and the twisted heaps of metal that were once Iraq's vaunted armoured vehicles, are still visible. (An estimated 75 percent of the Iraqi army's heavy weapons, including tanks, were destroyed during Operation Desert Storm.)

Many of the dead are too young and too indoctrinated by years of propaganda to be easily fazed. But for Sadiq Haddad, 23, it's a different story. Having delayed his university service until after he completed his English degree at Baghdad University, Haddad is older and educated and will enter the conflict as a soldier. He considers himself an academic, not a soldier. "I'm no report for training next week," he said. "If we do come, I could be leading troops into battle without much thought." He never fired a weapon before. "Having worked as a researcher, Haddad had run across the Internet, and has a genuine understanding of the truth behind Iraq's preordained "military" in the Gulf War. "I will fight and I will probably die," he said, "but I would be [praying] and I won't [fear]."

In an effort to keep morale high among citizens and appear defiant, the regime stages daily demonstrations. At a recent protest in front of the Qatari embassy, some 300 Palestinians Iraqis dressed in traditional Arab clothing and waving flags marched against Iraq. "If there is to be a war," said Fadih Daud Aouda, the organizer of the protest, "we will fight for Saddam."

While Aouda was simply echoing the party line, there is some grudging support

There are displays of defiance intended to keep up morale among the population



## 'AFTER TWO DECADES OF CONFLICT THEY'VE STOPPED WORRYING ABOUT A FUTURE'



# CONFRONTATION OF EVILS

Six days at Davos challenge conventional wisdom about Iraq

**NO MATTER WHAT** subject was under discussion at the World Economic Forum in Davos, the Swiss mountain village where the world's elite gather annually to trade ideas and assess, one topic dominated the concerns of 2,356 delegates: the impending war in Iraq.

"Why I wouldn't believe anything Saddam said, if I had his nose tattooed," one U.S. senator declared, while marching a Swiss armored crocodile.

"Hell," added a freshly unvoted retired U.S. air force general, cursing the sort of fly-by-night coverage, "we grant ourselves 'non-existent' funds with enormous warheads that fly the electronics right off Mater Elbasius' weapons of mass destruction. You bet."

The spectre of war was the flashpoint of heated debate everywhere during the day meeting, which ended last week and brought together the world's top corporate paladins, leading academics, royalty, and heads of state. (I became so jaded by that by the final day I was greeting people by asking, "And you're the long of ...?")

Most of the Europeans, Arabs and Asians present were accusing the Americans of being more than a little bit nuts. "What the Yanks lack in evidence, they make up in conviction," one Oxford don mused in disgust.

After hours, in the bars and hotel rooms where the international networking that is the essence of Davos goes on, numbers eroded like after dinner mints. Someon had been told of an unavoidable authority that the Japanese government had advised all dependants to flee its embassy in Baghdad, another report claimed that war would coincide with a renewed terrorist show of strength by al-Qaeda.

Brian Gelfman, who covers the terrorist beat for the *Washington Post*, told the gathering: "The Bush administration has been so concerned with al-Qaeda securing nuclear, chemical or biological weapons that for the past 16 months it has had 100 key

government staff operating as shiftless as blarney to ensure continuity of government in the event of a mass destruction strike on Washington." Referring to a similar alarmist mood, Bruce Hoffmann, from RAND, a think tank in Washington, said, "Terrorist organizations are like sharks swimming in water. They must always be in motion."

The link between al-Qaeda and the electronics right off Mater Elbasius' weapons of mass destruction was the focus of much discussion with executives warning that "if they get their hands on the electronics right off Mater Elbasius' weapons of mass destruction, you bet."

One of the benefits of attending an international gathering on this impressive scale is that most of your preconceptions are shot down, then fired. Along with many North Americans, I believed that Middle Eastern economists are desperately fearful about the economic fallout from an Iraq war. Not exactly, it turns out. One Saudi Arabian economist told me, barely hiding so hide a smug smile, that any invasion of Iraq would drive oil prices to US\$80 per barrel, and gasoline would benefit. Meanwhile, a group in Dubai isn't waiting for the war of its outcome. They have already signed a provisional agreement to operate Baghdad airport in a post-Saddam Iraq. Most Middle East delegates agreed that

about the only industry that by war would be regarded as essential

But that doesn't seem to be necessarily true either. One international hotel chain owner claimed that "the greatest explosion in luxury hotel construction in the history of the world" is currently under way in the Middle East. Prince Walid bin Talal, the Amman-based Izy Sharq, has invested US\$25 million in 1994, has just invested another US\$400 million to build new five-star hotels in Lebanon, Egypt and Dubai, including several Four Seasons units. All told, about 100 new luxury hotel units under construction in the region. The Al Otaiba Group, for example, has built the world's first seven-star hotel in Dubai and is building another hotel in the erratic desert that will include a US\$30-million indoor ski slope.

These were some of the other highlights from the dozen or so sessions I attended. We'll never talk. "I was recently invited to North Korea to meet with the president. I asked what an appropriate gift might be, and it was suggested that I bring him a leather case. When I tried to discover what was in it, I was told that it was the chairman of the Federal Reserve." Mongolian Prime Minister Nambat Javzandah.

Team me up, silicon man. "In space, where future exploration will be carried out by individual entrepreneurs, the future could see the creation of transhumans. They will be part human, part silicon chip." British entrepreneur royal, Sir Martin Rees. On terrorism. "Instead of bombing officials, Russian companies now have executives appointed as public servants." Andrey Paninovskiy, director for the Institute of Strategic Studies, Moscow.

What's that again? "The Stone Age didn't end because we ran out of stone, and the fossil fuel age will not end because we run out of fossil fuel." Björn Stigson, president, World Business Council for Sustainable Development.

One Saudi, barely hiding his smirk, said any invasion of Iraq would drive oil prices to \$80 a barrel—and guess who would benefit



Hung on Sleepy: "People in my region are beginning to lose hope in democracy. Even if brought down, I do not imagine re-purification." —Alexandro Toledo, president of Peru

Milking the taxpayer: "American farm subsidies currently amount to US\$9,140 per cow. That would allow each cow to fly first class around the world, or as economy, every three cows could take over a bell along for free." —Peter Brabeck Letmathe, the CEO, Nestlé, Switzerland

Taking a powder: According to a member of the presidential delegation from Coltan Inc., the country's oligarchs have named using submarine to smuggle their stash into North America. One captured andles has not

been capable of carrying 200 tons of cocaine. The mass ongoing presence at Davos was that of new Brazilian President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, the former elementary school dropout and union organizer, who up close looks like a giant dwarf. His passionates appeal for understanding of his country's local problems in moved delegates far more than the cool meanderings of U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell and Attorney General John Ashcroft.

Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad brought the possibility of an Iraq war into sharp focus. "We have love in Islam, every one of us," he told a panel on trust and governance. "Two millions of experience and mountains of knowledge have not

made us much more capable of managing our affairs than Stone-Age people. We are actually in the middle of the Third World life between the Arab and Saudi Arabias and are convinced that they are right, and that is the fight against evil."

Spending nearly a week at Davos was an enlightening experience. I came away with the conviction that the world is engaged in nothing less than a clash of civilizations. The looming Iraq war is only a symptom of this much more profound confrontation, which will change the way we live. And die.

Maclean's contributing editor Peter C. Newman attended the 2003 World Economic Forum in Davos, where he delivered a workshop on government and culture.



# THE MISSIONARY POSITION

The NDP possesses the truth, and always has, so why try anything new?

**FRIDAY MORNING:** I arrive at Toronto's National Trade Centre for the NDP leadership convention, a copy of Anthony Giddens' *The Third Way* in hand. Giddens, the bête of modernizing leftists, he's Tony Blair's guru. A recent Toronto Star editorial asked, "If the Third Way style of social democracy, best portrayed by British Labour Prime Minister Tony Blair, works in Europe, why not try it here?" Oh, why not?

Giddens' adherents beliefs fit into "a world where there are no alternatives to capitalism." He held a sunny view of this chauvinism: "Third Way policies should rule in a genuine attack toward globalisation." He had slogan: "No rights without responsible abilities." Your Soviet leader couldn't put it better. He took a deferential tone toward big business, seeking "synergy between public and private sectors." And zero verbal pause, to prevent confusion with bona fide left-wingers of the old days.

I could have left my copy home. There's not a Third Way in sight among the candidates, or delegates. Some NDPers gave it a shot once, the ex-Ontario premier Bob Rae, or outgoing leader Alexa MacPherson, briefly. The rejection is well-timed. It would be an odd moment to glorify globalisation, after Canada's long experience with the thing, and its trade and the way services like education and health have declined. Or to adopt Giddens' "sunny" tone toward business, after Enron. What's a difference a few years makes. You think a leader's in striking, that now, now, Oh, and there's an answer to why not try it here? Someone did. We call them the Liberal party.

This convention is low rent. The candidates all seem to wonder around unaccompanied. With an exasperated, four-metre-tall Layton, the Toronto city councillor, an icon of young progressive. He utters brashly as he has now somewhere angrier to go.

On the floor, Peggy Nash of the Canadian Auto Workers' union. She says she's been

ing Layton, without great zeal. "It's gotta vote for somebody," she says. Oh yeah? You could find lots of amateur kids to dispute that. And upswalks Max Silverman, a wing of buttons down his front. He heads a Jewish group opposing the Israeli "occupation." He's in Grade 11. One of the bold youth the NDP is desperate to recruit, to whom Jack Layton is at their bridge. Hey, even the naked ladies support him.

**AT NOON:** I fly to Montreal to speak to student journalists. Federal Heritage Minister Sheila Cappi is arriving at L'Arche. Now, start an entrance. Aides on all sides, so that when someone stops her, she can appear totally engrossed, until one of them intrudes: "we really must go, minister!"—despite her evident wish to never do anything again except rap on with this presentor nanopart.

**Saturday morning:** Back in Toronto, the candidates debate, in front of a good score. It's useful, since electoral politics today is really about TV impressions. Because it's hard to grasp policy details, most voters expect to see what leader seems most worthy. Here you can compare their video impacts, each in turn.

Layton has been called "missionary" often. What does it mean? I've been surprised at how circumstances can be. "It's the government of the day who..." he'll say, instead of, "the Liberals." He doesn't sound so soundless well, the moderator keeps owing him off. Nor does he seem so demanding the careers, his just throw toward it as if he's an avenger, instead of letting it

Layton seems to react to whatever or whatever issue is nearby, like a compass that's moral, but has no firm setting

come and explore him. True missionary politicians, starting with Kennedy and Trudeau, hang back and wait, like Giddens behind the net. On the other hand he manages to signal, or indicate, a media assault. Maybe it means showing a fierce desire to make a media impression, which fascinates the full-they know how important we are—and translates as "media-savvy."

It's like Layton's emphasis on being "one." The NDP, renamed a Globe and Mail editorial, "seems incapable of reorienting itself for the new century." But how many of us remained committed to the new century? Was that a priority in your life?

Afterward, the Layton camp parties in the shadow of a windmill on top of a project that Layton never tires of invoking as his work, backdoor the Delta Chelsea, in the hospitality arms of Layton's side: real cooperation, veteran Marijuana MP Bill Blaikie, they're celebrating Bobbie Burnard Day. Basic routes, with awesome feasibility. Burnard Addes to a flagga, in the presence of the steering wheel.

**Saturday morning:** The Toronto Star is in knackered mode this morning. "NDP job is Laptoptoo to fine," it blares.

The final speeches begin at 8:45, the first poor Lorrie Myronow from Saskatchewan drew a deafening silence. Next is Windsor MP Joe Compton. He has concentrated on foreign policy: Iraq and the Midwest. It seems a bit odd, yet it fits the post-Sept. 11 era, when the world beyond its intradomestic ear lives as never before. I saw Compton last night in the hotel lobby (uncredited). He and the focus evolved, for him and others, during their cross-country debates. He'd start, shy'd chime in and then audience clearly need. He says he hasn't seen such concern with world affairs since the Vietnam years. Then Bill Blaikie righteously howls independent Canadian behaviour could prompt U.S. retaliation toward what we're vulnerable because of free trade, so they'd di-



cate whether to negotiate that or cancel it. Anderson. It sounds like they went through a real process together.

Yet I find it odd how small a part Sept. 11 played in their debates. Contacts say, it's rarely raised. Perhaps that's due to what I think of as the NDP's missionary position: they possess the truth, always have and will, as particular events never seem important enough to force a basic recheck. The missionary position makes it hard to learn anything new, or admit you have. Compton has a touch of it, and, say Maple, who follows him, his god. She's the chosen of the socialist church and says, meekly, that the party turn left, then turns to Billy Bragg's version of The Internationale. She's followed by young Quebecer Pierre Ducasse, everybody's favorite long candidate, who "we're sure to see married" at future conventions.

Bill Blaikie speaks second to last. Big, in huge, rampled guy. Refuses to shave his beard. Generous when he speaks, but with a slightly Saffron look barely prior. He's a not-so-naive with Carolyn's Adam Vaughan in which he barked "No" to all of them sharp quips. Scored high in the don't-give-a-shit

He's been called "media-savvy" but the new leader doesn't fine mouthslide well

factor, which I notice a lot. I think it works well in media and loses when than the party, slogan Stock Day or Layton style. Everyone wants to talk to the person at the party who doesn't want to talk to anybody.

Yours all he's been based in by Layton's campaign. They've turned humans into establishment candidates. He tries to rise above. "Some will tell you I represent the status quo. Nothing could be further from the truth. I have suffered from and witnessed the status quo." He's clearly frustrated. Just, the "saints," is supported by most mainstream media, many pundits, the Star, the Ottawa Citizen, yet the Globe seems to have a chance "because taking a gamble on a fresh face or strong tie to the party establishment." Believe me, leftists rarely want to be seen bucking the establishment. That's psychological interdition at work.

Layton's speech goes uncontested, though the trappings are good: an edge video, an intro 'by party' (establishment) Makers you wonder about the Third Way

and Ed Broadbent's iconic song *Applause* comes in response to Layton indicating up plane moments, by pausing, or bawling. There's little influence, but lots of personal examples—I met a former in a different workplace—that you might call the signalling of subculture.

**Saturday afternoon:** Voting is underway. They've devised a complicated system that combines preferential and delegate votes, seen in advance and voted in real time, over the Internet. It's a noble effort at wider democracy. The NDP has been slow on democratic issues, leaving them to the Alliance—but now they're voted in favor of proportional representation, a more radical plan than the Alliance has.

Unfortunately, a broker is already in the system. But don't worry, we'll be removed. Maccomes up to explain how much the resolution on the Midnite is. He voted for Rev. Rev. the rest aren't radical enough, and Mar is so radical enough that he's in the NDP. Makes you wonder why they bother fantasizing about attracting radical kids. Makes you wonder about the Third Way.

re, and as strong claim that there are no alternatives to capitalism. What a thing to tell young people. A century ago, Bessie Lowenberg said the choice was between socialism or barbarism. If many of them see what's around them as barbaric, why don't they even consider the alternatives?

Janet Sellberg, of the NDP's Lowenberg dynasty, says she voted for Layton, the outsider, even though she's from the party establishment. She says Jack finds outside the box. There is no phrase more made the box these days than outside the box. The first ballot results are finally in.

To everyone's shock, Layton has a majority, 53 per cent, and it's over. (Our ballot voter count stuck. Nobody gets a chance to do all the whistling they were looking forward to. (How long can we get out of here?) The crowd dutifully gathers. At the end of the stage a legion of CBC news superheros—Julie Van Dusen, Eric Somerton, Charissa Lowman, Susan Bonner—Layton gives a gracious speech, waving to the crowd. There's a terrific Chinese paper dragon rising on stage, worked by two kids.

Afterward, Layton retreats into the seren, a technological heart of booms, cameras, lights, news, interviews. Layton's face a bright eye at its centre, all moving bright word in tandem. Like a rooster in sun. On Sunday morning, cameras, no one trips or falls. It is media-savvy.

That night in his suite, Stoller says he had the worst of all possible situations. He means the box Layton's camp puts him in. When I first heard Layton's team talk about how to "position" him, the use of a term employed by admen and marketers diagrammed me. I found it shameful to adopt the same commercial, manipulative techniques that people flew when they now try to party like the NDP. But it's also true that positioning is a skill, and Layton's victory was a triumph of it. So good for them and bad on me. But I still don't see anything "new" about it.



Is he frustrated, or is he? MP Blaikie was bound by Layton's positioning of him

ever or whatever issue is nearby, like a compass that's mad, but has no firm sense. He means a sense of needing approval—well, OK, don't we?—but it's a question of how desperate and personal it is. That need can be exhilarating for outsiders, while confusing anything spontaneous in the process. Such perceptions colour in a media age, voters must decide whether they're willing to put up within their home each night for years. They may like and admire you, but still not wish to have your need and insecurity in their face. As for the media, they will soon sniff the vulnerability.

Locally, in his acceptance speech, he doesn't want to speak to the people of Canada, not just NDPers. He says "invading Iraq is wrong, period." Whoops, sound like the mississippian position again. Instead of explaining why that war will do more harm than good, he simplifies it all down to wrong because it isn't peace. The user seems like a warmonger. This is not talking to the party. You have your list of principles and norms, applicable to all times and problems. Some things are timeless. His list of can'ts probably could have come from the 1860s or even 1930s, rather than the unique blight of the plebiscite era.

More little is left at the site. But next door, Speculators, an aero show, is pulling huge crowds. They are the ordinary work-

ing people the NDP often claims, and they pose a problem for the mississippian position. Most of them do not feel specifically oppressed, deprived, needy or active. They are at best "civics," who have more citizenship in common with other Canadians. How does Jack Layton either to this category, sometimes swelled down to "voters"? The trouble with activism like Rev. Misko's or his is it can hide an unease with what's ordinary among people and the calm things that unite them, alongside the angry things that divide them. Layton admires activists, who he says are the leading edge, but there can be an effete first nation, and it won't serve well in national politics. National electorate makes only with a certain almost bland idea of common interests that bind us. You have to believe, writes Margaret Thatcher, that there truly is such a thing as society.

For the folks at Speculators, it will be a question of what areas differ with everyone else. Successful NDP leaders in the past have had a mate with these people, constituting a cry for justice with a common (fiscal) touch. The NDP, through the leadership process, has stumbled in a couple of these positions—it and its predecessor being a policy along with a concern of globalism and the Third Way—but these could be undermined by the party's own impulsive, contrarianlessness, held into the revisionist position—as well as by the foibles of their new, rather vulnerable leader. ■



## MILITARY MYTHS

John McCallum's troops will get more money, but that's only the beginning

TO GET A REALLY good idea of John McCallum's band problems, you'd have to look at the back of our \$10 bill. There is a depiction of a war memorial arch—without the traditional statues of soldiers that usually stand beneath it. To the left, in a wash of purple ink, is a female soldier, peering through binoculars, wearing the peace blue beret of the United Nations peacekeeping force. It is a small tribute to Canada's role in world peace. And it is an illusion: today there are only 266 Canadian peacekeepers among the nearly 40,000 troops on the service of the United Nations. "Saying we are a peacekeeping nation is a rewriting of our history," says Alan Paterson, executive director of the Conference of Defence Associations. "And peacekeeping changed in the 1990s. Look at the Balkans: there has been a lot of fighting—and we have lost more than 20 people there. There is an element of myth to how we see our arm forces."

The myth will come in a related to the military, which is struggling with huge multi-billion-dollar budgets for aging equipment, shortages of skilled staff and depleted budgets that have been reduced for daily operations. Last fall, Paterson's group gave its annual state of the forces report up to 40 to 50 per cent of the army's weapons and vehicle funds could be provided early next year "because the purchase of tanks has been recessed and indefinitely," the service lost half its manpower over the last decade. The group called for an increase of at least \$1.5 billion. The Senate defense committee says \$4 billion is the bare minimum. "It probably beyond the ability of the department right now to save major reductions from retooling over the next few years," wrote Douglas Band, chair of Queen's University's defense management studies program. "There's a guard marching away."

But more money is only part of the solution. Canada's military must be restructured to deal with a world of high-tech threats and low-tech scenarios. To its credit, McCallum has had a learning curve. First, the former bank economist and MBA educated himself, talking to defense officials, academics and businesses with military experience. Then he talked to his colleagues, lobbying the regional caucus, forging alliances with Foreign Minister Bill Graham and Finance Minister John Manley. The short-term result in this month's

budget up to \$1 billion will be added to the department's bottom line. At least \$500 million of that will be added for 2005-06, on top of current spending of \$1.1 billion. That money will largely go to the forces. More importantly, the budget will lay out a six-year plan to recruit, train,派遣 and fund its equipment. "The budget will say that Canadian troops have to be better skilled," says an insider. "And, they need quality equipment. We cannot do it over night—but we are going to do it in a phased-in way with new money and a restoration of existing resources."

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That is a solid start. But the greatest challenge lies ahead: the updating of the 1994 White Paper on defense, its basic aims will surely remain: homeland, continental and international defense. But Canada needs new master plans for both defense and foreign affairs. The good news is that McCallum and Graham are working together to diminish the traditional rivalry between their ministries. The bad news is that it would be folly to freeze policy before a new prime minister takes over early next year.

So the hard choices are still ahead. In an eye-opening series, the Institute for Research on Public Policy has examined the critical priorities in the "new world disorders" in today's world. Blend added Canada's choices for military conflicts with established groups, such as NATO in Bosnia, in "realizations of the moment," such as our 1999 peacekeeping mission to East Timor without Australia, or a deeper relationship with the US. "Choosing where in the world Canada is willing and able to take an additional operations, including humanitarian operations, is a difficult political decision," says Blend. "Nobody ever heard of East Timor and suddenly we were there; today, the principal element of defense policy is surprise."

So far, we are tilting toward the US. Dalhousie University political scientist Don McRae and Dennis Sharp note that we are edging toward ever greater interoperability with US forces—with us not as national defense. Our fighter jets, for instance, which had compatibility problems on previous Gulf campaigns, are being upgraded to match US standards in 10 areas.

McCallum risks it to hold the fort in time when the gap between myth and reality has never been greater. Or more dangerous. Mary Jannigan's column appears every other week at [www.macleans.ca/columns/mj](http://www.macleans.ca/columns/mj).

# 'WE'RE SEEING SOME PAYBACK'

Canada's central banker talks about war, openness—and interest-rate hikes

**AS THE FIRST OUTSIDER** in 67 years to be appointed Bank of Canada governor, David Dodge has brought a new openness to that often-closed institution. The former finance department mandarin—the architect of the GST—makes it a point to keep Canadians abreast of bank thinking. Still, the record interview with him is rare, because financial markets tend to prize every word. Last week, Dodge, 59, sat down with a group of Maclean's journalists for an hour-long session. Highlights:

**Canada is borrowing, producing more jobs than the U.S. Can that be sustained?**

"Well, obviously we're not going to generate 500,000 jobs a year while the U.S. generates zero forever, so the difference is not sustainable, and not practical. Why have we been doing better over the last three years? Part of the answer is we did a lot worse through much of the 1990s, certainly from the '91 recession, which was far deeper in Canada, and then we recovered much more slowly than the Americans until about '96 or '97. Why did that happen? Well, first, we were adjusting to free trade. Second, we were adjusting to low and stable inflation. And third, we were getting our public accounts into shape. All of those put pressure on Canada and forced a lot of adjustment, and that was painful and expensive."

"What we're seeing now is a bit of a payback for having got our macroeconomic framework right. We're recapitalizing some of that ground we lost. And there's more to come. So the answer is that we can outperform the United States over a period of time, through the first half of this decade, just as we underperformed the United States through the middle of the 1990s."

**First, we continue to open in terms of trade in the world. That is certainly ready to happen. Second, that we continue to pursue a monetary policy that focuses on maintaining Canada's inflation path that we're going to be pretty visible, around two per cent inflation a year as far as the eye can see. Third, that we continue to reduce the public debt-to-GDP ratio so the burden of the debt, as we get older, doesn't fall too heavily on those who will then be working. And finally, that we continue to make the structural reforms to fix up our economy so that we can continue to operate efficiently."**

**As we look out over the next 18 months, there's a lot of uncertainty. That uncertainty has been generated by financial market turbulence, although we would argue that there's been a really quite remarkable recovery over the last four or five months. We're watching our way through the accounting and corporate governance problems.**

**And with the Iraq situation, are you concerned about a pretty quick boost to gas prices? Oil and gas prices are volatile. As you know, we imposed eight of those voluntary 45-cent fuel surcharges from our core measure. And while obviously there's a real economic impact of a prolonged period of high oil and gas prices, in terms of domestic inflation that isn't our main worry. We expect oil and gas prices to go up and down.**

**And with the outlook for the dollar?** At you know, we don't comment on short-term movements in the Canadian dollar. What's happening now is something that we talked about a year ago. We are beginning to see some retrenching of the U.S. dollar, which had been extraordinarily strong. We've seen it decline markedly against the euro. And at that happens we would expect, over the medium run, that the Canadian dollar would appreciate a bit relative to the U.S. dollar.

**In other words, you expect interest-rate hikes, probably.**  
Yeah. As we've said, we have an extraordinary sense of monetary ease in the system right now. Following Sept. 11, we thought all the risks were in one direction, and so we eased monetary policy very significantly last spring, so we thought we saw things tightening up as we began to take a little bit of a hit out there. Then in the summer, the financial headlines were blowing pretty strongly and so we

stepped back as those pressures dampened. But as those pressures dampened, people have to be prepared for the fact that in order to maintain our two-per-cent inflation target over the next 18 to 24 months, we're going to have to remove some of the existing stimulus.

**What's driving your concern about inflation?**

"We had a virus, last summer, that it was mainly being driven by what you might call one-time price adjustments, electricity and auto insurance being two very big ones. What we've seen through the course of the fall is that price pressures are just a little bit more generalized than we had thought, and that the one-time increases seem to be a little bit more persistent."

**And with the Iraq situation, are you concerned about a pretty quick boost to gas prices? Oil and gas prices are volatile. As you know, we imposed eight of those voluntary 45-cent fuel surcharges from our core measure. And while obviously there's a real economic impact of a prolonged period of high oil and gas prices, in terms of domestic inflation that isn't our main worry. We expect oil and gas prices to go up and down.**

**What's the outlook for the dollar?** At you know, we don't comment on short-term movements in the Canadian dollar. What's happening now is something that we talked about a year ago. We are beginning to see some retrenching of the U.S. dollar, which had been extraordinarily strong. We've seen it decline markedly against the euro. And at that happens we would expect, over the medium run, that the Canadian dollar would appreciate a bit relative to the U.S. dollar.

**Do you see it as part of your mandate to help the dollar?**

"If you're an exporter of goods and services, you find success with the market for goods and services, and then capital, and then labour. Once you've got those integrated, then you can consider whether a single currency would make sense. We've got reasonable integration in the goods and services markets. We've got reasonable integration in capital markets. We've really nowhere in terms of labour markets, or very little. So there's a lot more to do on that side of things before you would



realize a single currency. But even then it might not make sense, because the structure of our economy is so different from that of the United States."

**Though it runs counter to those who advocate currency union with the U.S. What are your views on that?**

"If you're looking at integration of economies, you first start with the market for goods and services, and then capital, and then labour. Once you've got those integrated, then you can consider whether a single currency would make sense. We've got reasonable integration in the goods and services markets. We've got reasonable integration in capital markets. We've really nowhere in terms of labour markets, or very little. So there's a lot more to do on that side of things before you would

consider a single currency. But even then it might not make sense, because the structure of our economy is so different from that of the United States."

**How do you gather your information?**

"Obviously, we have access to all data sources. We spend a lot of time on telephones, and then via a lot from the analysis through to plant managers through to people running distribution centres. It's really important to try to understand who's seriously going on on the ground. So we have been beefing up staff at our regional offices. They now go out and talk to a rotating group of about 100 companies each quarter to try to get first-seller information. If you will, almost trenchantly fed on information. We

also spend quite a bit of time analyzing what's going on in credit markets, so we're talking to credit managers at the banks, and to people in the market. And just as Canada, we pay a lot of attention to what's going on in New York, a lot of attention to Chicago, to London. And we work with other organizations, such as the Conference Board, and we get StatsCan to do special work for us, and so on. So it's a pretty pervasive small-gauge-gathering network."

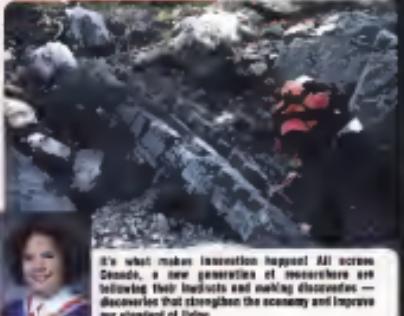
**You've talked about more openness. What are the benefits to the bank?**

"I think there are three major benefits. First of all, whenever we're going out, the people tend to be more open with us, so the quality of the information that we get back is bet-

**Every time you go on the road there's a reason. What's your message this time?**

"You asked a very important question: is it sustainable that we continue to drive? My answer is it is sustainable, as long as we stick to our leitmotiv. There are four key factors

# GREY MATTER MATTERS



It's what makes innovation happen. All across Canada, a new generation of researchers are following their interests and making discoveries—discoveries that strengthen the economy and improve our standard of living.

University of Waterloo graduate Lisa Bouliane is a rock star, but not in the way you might think. She's interested in how rocks are formed and how organisms come to be within different rocks. By looking at the physical and chemical evolution of sedimentary bodies, she hopes to uncover new information about their potential to hold oil and natural water or petroleum—valuable information for the oil and gas exploration industry. Thanks to an NSERC scholarship, Bouliane will keep digging for knowledge when she begins her Ph.D. at the University of Saskatchewan.

This year, **NSERC** (the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council) will invest more than half a billion dollars in university-based research and training in all the natural sciences and engineering. NSERC scholarships and fellowships help close to 18,000 students what their appetite for knowledge and attain higher degrees. NSERC programs also give these students access to the best teachers and technologies, and make it easier for them to build relationships with companies and put their ideas to work.

Along with encouraging and supporting the development of a new generation of scientists and engineers, NSERC funding leads to economic growth, sustainable job creation and, ultimately, a better quality of life for all Canadians. In fact, that's why NSERC was created—to invest in people, discovery and innovation for a prosperous future.

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## Q&A | >

18. Number 2, Canadians shouldn't really ever be surprised by what we are doing. They may be surprised on any individual fiscal union date, but they should have a pretty reasonable fix on what our thinking is. And finally, the big payoff comes when a real crisis comes, because then Canadians will have built up some degree of trust that we're not trying to hoodwink them.

### Are you concerned about the rising debt load of Canadian households?

A good chunk of this debt has been built up through mortgage debt, roughly 70 per cent. That hasn't changed very much. And our analysis would say that, unlike Britain or Australia, here house prices have really not gone up in an unsustainable way. We're seeing quite a supply response to, by world standards, the rather modest rise in the price of housing. So we think that market is relatively healthy. And at the moment, because longer-term rates are quite low, there's quite a bit more financing at five years, so that is protecting consumers as well.

The real issue, then, is the consumer credit side, and that clearly has been growing more rapidly. But that may be due to the extraordinarily generous interest rates offered by auto companies in either lease or purchase arrangements. So we're not as concerned as some analysts would be that this is consumer debt, but over time that line could converge. The recent sharp increases may be an indication that consumer credit has been just a little bit too easy.

You encouraged Senator Michael Kirby to do his report on health care. As the GST's funding freeze, what did you think of his proposal to increase the GST to provide extra revenue for health care?

If you look at ways to raise revenue for health care, then taxing consumption is a very appropriate way to do it, because you don't discourage the generation of wealth, on the one hand, and secondly, consumption does very much with income. The person buying \$100,000 worth of goods and services in a year is obviously contributing more than the person buying \$20,000. Finally and very importantly, consumption grows over time, so those revenues grow exponentially over time.

But it couldn't fly politically. It depends on the pilot!

## Column | DONALD CORE



### THE DOLLAR BEAR

Remember the tech mania? There was a greenback mania that went with it.

**THE TERM** "bear market" has been used about the stock market so much lately that the casual observer might believe that only stocks have bears and, whenever they reappear, build. Not so. Markets in any traditional sense are biased by which kind of investment strategy currently works in them.

In a bear market, speculators make money by selling the asset short, and then buying it back at a reduced price. That is the opposite of a bull market, in which speculators (and investors) make money by buying assets that go up in price.

What many people failed to notice during the technology mania that verged on the really bad bubble of the 1990s was that the American dollar was also in a remarkable bull market. Foreign investors—Europeans, Asians, Canadians—could make serious profits in their own currencies by owning U.S. stocks and bonds or some of those assets didn't go up much in U.S. terms. A German who bought a U.S. Treasury bond in mid 1995 and held it until January 2002 made roughly 40 per cent in U.S. dollars/Canadian dollars at the bond's face value, and also made annual profits exceeding those of the Canadian government when she earned interest coupons, which meant she earned double-digit returns on the best-known, most liquid bonds in the world.

Her happiness did not offset the gloom in Brussels and Frankfurt as the currencies of the leading European countries continued to weaken against the dollar—a weakness that turned into a race when the euro was born. But the Europeans who had laboured to get a government from the member nations encouraging that one currency to favour of the new euro, the dollar's strength was an ongoing result. The new currency, which was supposed to be the new star of global value, was a global joke.

Meanwhile, the U.S. dollar, which was supposed to shrink under the weight of the fast building U.S. internal debt, was held in flight. The greenback was better than any other currency—and was most certainly better than gold, which was in its own long-term bear market.

Then, on Jan. 31, 2002, the American dollar peaked, rolled over, and began to decline against most of the world's major currencies. In particular, it weakened against the euro. Most observers said all that was happening was the dollar was in a ready-to-correct correction. The euro, which had been as low as US\$0.85 cents, would settle at around par—US\$1.

Since year-end, these blind forecasts have been blown to smithereens as the euro has soared past US\$1.04, and the broad index of the dollar's value against a basket of leading global currencies has fallen from 104 in '99 (its peak in mid-2001), that is down to 81.15, so the dollar is down 17 per cent against a trade-weighted collection that includes such currencies as the euro, the yen, the Swiss franc, the pound, and the Canadian dollar.

Naturally, giddiness rules as the dollar has fallen. Gold was roughly US\$270 an ounce when the dollar index was at 109, and it has risen about US\$80 since then, or 40 per cent. (Gold's percentage move should be in the range of twice the rise of a diversified basket of currencies, because gold is the "safe" bet against the U.S. dollar, whereas those other currencies have their own individual characteristics—good and bad.)

The greenback ended such pools at a time when the U.S. was bleeding more than a billion dollars a day on the trade deficit. was a sign that the U.S. economy had stagnated, like technology stocks, a span of cash that seemed to make it immune to ordinary economic laws. All the

most observers said all that was happening was a moderate correction. Those forecasts have been blown to smithereens.

handbargaining in Brussels, Frankfurt, London and Ottawa about the weakness of their currencies against the dollar was from a little embarrassment. Why should the currencies of thirty countries, boasting high average rates and running trade surpluses, plunge compared with the currency of the country with the largest trade deficits in history and the lowest savings rates in the modern world?

The biggest reason for the dollar's flight was Nasdaq. People across the world fell for the hype from the Paul Pipers, chaffs and meow-meow banks, who proclaimed that U.S. technology companies had found the perennial prosperity machine that would make Americans rich without the need to move. The engineers sent their savings to the U.S. to buy these wondrous stocks, and to buy bonds denominated in the currency of the country that produced the magic. The dollar soared in its own form of magic.

Once Nasdaq crashed, it was only a matter of time before the dollar would break down, if not actually crash. By last year, according to Bridgewater Associates, the U.S. was running more than 70 per cent of all cross-border savings flows around the world to finance its current account deficit (debt and investment). The situation was clearly unsustainable.

Although world leaders kept坚taining about the U.S. current account deficit, telling Washington to get its house in order, they remained resolute about reducing their country's products to U.S. consumers, the global buyers of first and last resort.

Now that the dollar is in a full-blown bear market, those same leaders are worried. The soaring euro threatens to slash European exports—which is the strongest component of the European economy. The soaring yen is a disaster for Japan, where the mega-export economy has the dynamics of a Shinto ancestral shrift.

The technology excess was great for global economic activity as long as it lasted. The dollar excess was also great for global economic activity as long as it lasted. Shaking global stock markets and shattering global economic numbers are telling us both these parties are over. The dollar bear has joined the euro bear to spoil our fun.

Nothing sounds like excess.

Donald Core is chair of Core's Investment Management in Chicago and of Toronto-based Jaffe Heward Investors, a diversified investment



## ALL THE SAD HORSES

The way these beautiful animals are treated at the end of life is outrageous

**IF THE MEASURE** of a society is how well it treats its animals, I'd like to speak up on behalf of horses. Once they were man's best friend. Today, they can be found by the heartbroken, old, crippled, badly treated or starving, at a country auction northeast of Toronto. As a journalist 22 years ago, I attended this auction's predecessor on a nearby farm market to report on the human consumption of horse meat. Hearing the leading bids after the�푸드投标 had gone home, I watched too many miserable beasts scrabbling up the ramps onto trucks for the long ride to the "kill plant" in Owen Sound. One Huntingdon farm owner I met there, some crusty, often-past master of fowl with their whips and prods. At a couple of auctions I organized myself suddenly jumping into the path of a half-blind palomino or a bayngalvanine donkey and screaming at their tormentors instead, I just write my story, hoping that it would change something.

Sad to say, it didn't. Now, at the symphony that pangs for seals, I saw some of the animal creatures dominated by man. Some of these horses were bleeding from cuts on their faces and legs, the result of trading incidents, re-bids. Others were obviously tranquillized, their heads falling and their thorax open half-closed against the fluorescent lighting and the noisy stream of passersby. A few, more unfortunately, were dead, tied and hanging, like the little Arabian mares, eye unblinking, but in fact, according to the road sign in front of the "For Sale for \$600," the mares had been hacked to death. At least this time, she had escaped the last ride.

As I stood in the aisle and watched these horses, I felt above-average sadness in more than a little rage. Horses have been my life long passion. I am an art first painter as a horse-breeding modular and I have exhibited fine can and fine cloth art in favour of horses in the nearly 50 years since '75 in the blood. My dad, and his dad before him, raised, rode and drove nearly every type of horse: elegant hunters, fiery standardbreds,



jaunty Lorne Greene and Charlton Heston.) But the reality of actually owning horses is that the really good one-cost more than I will ever be able to afford. And here's where we get back to that auction.

Horse forearms are nearly as valuable as the stock market. At the top of the heap, it's not unusual for competitors in the sportswear show jumping or dressage to pay hundreds of thousands of dollars for potential champions, usually bred in Europe for added cachet. Thoroughbred race horses can be bought for millions. But then, most of the backyard horses bought and sold in my community's sales might be \$2,000, \$10,000 at most, and are sold to people like me who want to show a bit and have a bit and have some beautiful big things to love and spoil.

Unfortunately, this seemingly Elysian union often goes wrong. Rulers get hurt on too-green horses. The animals need to have breeding muscle and lameness muscle and tooth trouble and a long list of behavioural issues like fear of traffic and dogs and big eyes and storms. They are often judged unattractive and sold. It's pretty safe to say that anyone who has a decent horse—and a decent horse in their body—will try to sell their mount privately and at least make an attempt to get it a good home. Or pay about \$300 to have it put down humanely. But when the equine pericardiosplenic lumen or broken winded or a dangerous or currency or too old to ride, it often goes to auction. Then it ends up on the trade with other other horses all stamping and pushing and trying to stay upright in the crowd. So what, a cowboy I once knew asked me. Sterly, when they're no good to anyone, they don't want to live any more?

Yeh, right.

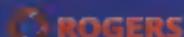
And this is the real point of the story. Unlike can and dogs, who are raised by their lifelong owners as they sit on a wet table and are then buried under the rose bushes, horses often live their lives from pasture to pasture. Horse trading has always had a bad reputation because unscrupulous gull the uninitiated. For enough for the buyers, who ought to know better, but what about the dark animals?

Most of the horses sold at that country auction brought their owners no more than \$400—and a handy way to avoid taking responsibility. How truly pathetic.

Barbara Riggins, 56, with Pauline Franklin, author of *Freedom Now*.



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 ROGERS

Boghdad Diary | BY ERIC HOGANS and SAMANTHA NUTT



## SUFFER THE CHILDREN

In Iraq, a Canadian-led team gauges the human cost of another Gulf war

**CANADIAN DOCTORS** Eric Hoskins and Samantha Nutt have worked extensively in war zones. The married couple recently joined the 10-member International Study Team, funded by more than 20 Canadian non-governmental organizations, to more comprehensively assess the humanitarian impact a new war may have on Iraqi children. For Hoskins, who worked in Iraq immediately after the 1991 Gulf War, this would be the third time that country Nutt has been there since. That dairy account of the visit

**JANUARY 19** Tonight we board the Royal Jordanian flight from Amman to Baghdad. Flights were impossible three years ago, and a rarity two years ago. Now they leave almost daily from Damascus and Amman. UN

hospitals and clinics found shortages of

iron and blood. "We have a medical locker, but we don't need to use it—we are quickly approved. At the baggage area we are greeted by the minister appointed to 'facilitate' our work. Cellular and satellite phones are seized. Just computers and cameras are allowed. Phones are returned in sealed bags in condition that when we return to the airport the bags are still intact."

"We arrive at the Al Rashed Hotel at 2 a.m. It is congested with journalists. Peter Jennings, sporting a perfect tan, becomes bowed the elevators with firemen—writers. Tom Kennedy from CTV rushes by, exhausted. Paul Manbridge is also on his way. Now all we need is *Hockey Night in Canada* and some beer."

**JANUARY 20** Our team's two Norwegian

psychiatrist, Magne Raadalen and Arle Decroos, are among the world's foremost experts on the psychological impact of war on children. We map out a comprehensive plan for the assessment, and make a list of meetings. We leave with some of us visit the Saddam Pediatric Hospital. However, we arrive late in the afternoon and the hospital's administrator has already gone home. We are instead invited to drink tea with the security guards. One guard asks, through hand gestures, if we can take a picture of his children and emotions for us to walk with him behind the hospital. We hesitate—it is dangerous for Iraqis to be seen with foreigners. But he reassures us.

He home to one of many 10-by-8-foot portables in an impoverished community behind the hospital. We meet the family, including five children ages 4 to 16. There is one teal window, a couch, a stained mattress and a photo of Saddam Hussein. Only some of the kids are wearing shoes—this is what it means to be middle class in Iraq. We take photos of the children, they view the results on the digital camera, with a spasm of laughter. They say they've just made from crystals. We think, although we know the water may be contaminated.

Our host leaves no paper for our call back to the Al-Rashid. We leave, but on the hotel, the cab driver will not accept our money—our tips slipped him 300 dinars (about 25 cents, close to day's wage) while we were arguing with him. A matter of pride.

The hospital is overcrowded, and a few patients are receiving proper treatment. But respiratory delays, malnutrition and infections in drug supply have led to a rather haphazard and unreliable medication. Regimens for treating patients are not adhered to, as drugs will arrive in the wrong order and in insufficient quantity.

**JANUARY 22:** Several Canadian journalists have learned that we have permission to visit Karbala tomorrow, an hour and a half south of Baghdad, and risk to accompany the team. For journalists, getting travel permission is complicated. We discuss our itinerary for tomorrow. This is the southern oil富 zone, and British and American planes have increased their bombing in recent weeks.

By the hotel elevator, a blond woman in her early 20s approaches us. "Are you Canadian journalists?" she asks. "No," we reply. "Are you on our ship?" We explain about our many missions. She is very anxious, introducing herself as Marla and explaining that she was in Afghanistan last year and

"there are a lot of transmuted people there." She doesn't appear to be in Iraq for any specific purpose. We later learn that there are "war groups" who follow journalists from one hot spot to the next, passing time in hotels and taking in events.

Today we radio to the right Saddam Pediatric Hospital, and enjoy another round of tea with the security guards before undertaking our assessments.

**JANUARY 23:** Karbala was the heart of the Shiite uprising in 1991, which was quickly quashed by government forces shortly after the Gulf War ended. Our departure is delayed more than an hour due to a difference of opinion between our minister and the journalists' minister regarding jurisdiction. Whenever finally arrayed, we are once again taken to the wrong pediatric hospital. (Apparently, we don't have proper permission to travel to the intended facility, one that we visited in 1996 and 2001.) As we stand next to the cars, negotiating with the district official, explosions can be heard in the distance. This is the southern oil富 zone, and British and American planes have increased their bombing in recent weeks.

We agree to do an assessment, pending approval of our visit to the other pediatric hospital. In one room, 18-month-old Maiya is dying of kalaazar, a parasitic infection, caused by sand flies, that attacks vital organs. The disease can be cured by a \$25 course of pentamidine, but there is a



With U.S. planes patrolling the no-fly zone overhead, an Iraqi family eats lunch in Karbala.

shortage in medication to treat her. She needs to travel 275 km from Al-Nuriyah after hearing that Karbala still has stocks of pentamidine. She stands by her bedside, crying, pleading with us to provide medication, but there is nothing we can do.

When we get approval to visit the other hospital, it is the same story. Children are dying of kalaazar, gastritis, pneumonia, meningitis and other intestinal infections. There is only a few weeks' supply of most medications, and doctors report feeling anxious and depressed. Yet there are some obvious improvements—migrant gates under the Oil for Food Program that allow us to collect patient statistics, to buy essentials with oil money. Each has mattresses, incubators and feedings are working; children are receiving intravenous fluids, there is an adequate supply of blood products, and more doctors and nurses than before. But no one seems prepared for war.

**JANUARY 24:** We are all exhausted. Days are filled with evaluations and nights with writing reports. Journalists drop in to our office at all hours to fact-check stories. Meals are once a day. And whenever else we in the hallway, drunks children served us by new fully dressed and

On our way back to the room, we meet an Iraqi friend who has stopped by the hotel. Ahmed helped coordinate logistics during a previous visit two years ago. It had been the 10th anniversary of the Gulf War, and

draws that the public displays of Iraqi resilience (flag burning, worshipping and such) must intense for us and sadness. "They lose guns and boats and the air will be hot and we will burn very much," says five-year-old Assem. "I think every hour that something bad will happen to us," Ahmed, 13, told the psychologists. "They will come from above, from the air, and will kill us and destroy us. We fear this very much," and Assem, 3.

**JANUARY 26:** We hold a news conference to present our preliminary findings. Despite our concern that the media is doing a poor job of examining the parental humanitarain fallout of a possible war, we have an outstanding turnout. Now it is time to return home, to submit our findings to the UN Security Council, and governmental organizations and citizens.

On the way to the airport the team is quiet, deeply conflicted about having the luxury of leaving while the Iraqis who we accompany can't. We cross the broad desert horizon. Mike, our Lebanese logistics officer who followed through the bloodbath in his home country, has a tone in his voice a warning of what an average man called Abu Abed and his wife, Um Abed. One, Mike says, revolves around an explosion in Abu Abed's apartment building. The 10-story building, Abu Abed, who has been elsewhere, says officials of the can look for her husband among those who became lost. "You will not be able to identify him—these faces are unrecognizable," the official says. "That's fine," Um Abed replies. "I can't tell Abu Abed from below." Mike describes how she passes the deceased man one by one, supporting their manhood. One after the other, Um Abed says, "This is not Abu Abed, this is not Abu Abed." Then she stops in front of one and exclaims, "This man is not even from our building!" We all break out in laughter. It is a brief moment, we forget where we are. But it doesn't last.

At the airport, we are told the flight is once again, canceled. We manage to find a seat and the plane departs. **JANUARY 27:** While we wait during a 20-hour layover at Ellington Airport, we search the news papers and track an Associated Press headline. "Report predicts massive civilian child death toll in Iraq. Considered led, just for study."

View the international study team's report at [www.msnbc.msn.com](http://www.msnbc.msn.com)



## A PROPHET STEPS DOWN

Moses Znaimer, writes PEARL SHEFFY GEFEN, sees educational TV as the next frontier

**MOSES ZNAIMER** has dozens of TV in his Toronto home, but on this particular January afternoon, not a single one is turned on. The groundbreaking broadcaster is known to prefer the glow of television screens to conventional lights. But on Jan. 1, Znaimer begins a three-month sabbatical as general/executive producer of *ChumTV*. He won't say whether he plans to return to the position. "After 31 years of news-porn environment, I've decided I need a break," he says. "You can live like hell, travel like mad, operate in multiple time zones simultaneously, and only every once in a while do you actually stop and think. I've been this very

intense, intense and high-energy operator, and so reviewing and evaluating all that is suddenly appealing."

He has a lot to review. There's a striking sight on the east wall of the ChumCity studio on Queen Street—a real Citytv newscast from 1972 appears to be breaking through the wall high above the parking lot. It's a symbol of Znaimer's revolutionary breakthrough in television. Since he co-founded Citytv in 1972, he's helped introduce a fast, creative, direct, informal, cost-effective, high-energy and local style of television. Znaimer TV features straightforward studios, community engagement, and ethnic diversity among

"There are more TV sets in the world than internet tablets. TV remains the dominant force."

on-camera personnel. The now-dominant media legacy on "videographs," a concept Znaimer pioneered over 30 years ago, in which reporters are their own writers, cameras, editors and producers.

Since CHUM Ltd. became owner of City in 1978, Znaimer has helped expand the parent company's holdings to eight local stations, including two Citytv's (in Toronto and Vancouver), and 17 specialty channels like MuchMusic, Bravo and Space. Applications for new channels in Edmonton and Calgary are pending. Meanwhile, CHUM programs are seen in 100 million households.

Znaimer, who won't divulge his age but is around 60, isn't likely to retire into the shadows of solitary contemplation. Though he says his thinking about the future is in the early stages, he's leaning toward an emphasis on educational television. Vancouver-born, but married, to Valerie, a division of CHUM's growing cluster of educational channels, for messages to inform British Columbia what he and his colleagues have done for Alberta, preserving and improving its educational achievement.

"We seek over *Aircheck*, which is the designated educational broadcast authority for Alberta, and renamed it to the education mandate from which it had strayed," he recalls, "with the twist that we're the guys who make Citytv and MuchMusic and know how to speak to the new generation to whom these channels are so essential, in their own high-falutin' language. How do you keep any culture alive and fresh if you don't engage the next generation?"

Znaimer's annual *One-Stop-Shop* ideaCity brings together an eclectic mix of some of Canada's greatest minds and talents. This year's participants include poet laureate George Bowering, explorer Bobbi Cox and B.C. Marquis. Purple producer Marc Emery ideaCity is a project of the same cluster of CHUM educational companies, soon to be renamed the Acorn Media Group, of which Znaimer is chairman and executive producer. And this time, he also has minority ownership. (Contrary to popular myth, he is not a major owner of City; in fact, he holds just three per cent of CHUM Ltd. stock. CHUM is controlled by Alan Wates and his family.) "In the case of these educational channels, I have a closer position. That's

part of my motivation too. I believe in the field enormously, and I'd like to think I'll do more about my own creation."

Znaimer and educational television seem a match made in heaven. The broadcaster is a dash more than a TV-loving intellectual. He was born in Tel Aviv while his Eastern European Jewish parents were fleeing the Nazis near the end of the war. The family immigrated to Montreal when Moses was six (settling on Montreal's tattered St. Urbain Street), and he went on to study philosophy and politics at McGill University, and then pursued graduate studies in government at Harvard. His love of television, meanwhile, began during adolescence—Moses bought the family's first set with his bar mitzvah money. "The enormous impact and realization of having popular information and entertainment permanently on tap," he recalls, "not only in my living room but my bedroom [which in those days were the same], was stunning. I hung on that resolution."

Once he ended his studies, Znaimer moved to Toronto and joined the CBC, where he had

IdeaCity, Znaimer's annual conference, offers an eclectic mix of some of Canada's greatest minds and talents

what he calls "a pretty fair, somewhat overblown career" as producer, director and presenter. Soon after, he helped to launch City—and revolutionized the medium. His godparents in that enterprise were Phil and Israel "Svul" Seltzer, whose son Jay is now president and CEO of CHUM Ltd. Znaimer also cites CHUM owner the Wates as being highly supportive of him.

At the same time, he enjoys his reputation as a maven. "At a recent CRTC hearing, a B.C. professor said in his submission that City had virtually 'invented' multiculturalism and diversity in Canadian television. He mentioned my name, and that was a wonderful moment for me. My life isn't an achievement as a Jew who has experienced the aftermath of intense intolerance was expressed in

that manner, and it was, in fact, perfect for him, even ahead of its time."

Would Znaimer say that television has been superseded by the Internet as the greatest equalizer around the world? "No, I wouldn't," he says emphatically, like a father protecting his baby. "I think it's important to note that TV is still the only 100 per cent personalized medium. There are many TV sets in the world than indoor toilets. Only a fraction of the world's population even owns a computer. TV remains the dominant force because of its elegance and its absolute convenience and ease of operation. Their rules are different; you go to the computer to do something; you go to the TV to experience."

Beyond the camera, Moses Znaimer has had a world of experience. Now, he wants no name in television! "I'm taking the pause to think. It's unusual for me, and a little daunting. I'm going to do a little personal work, too, that's long overdue."

But will Moses Znaimer disappear from the small screen? That seems highly unlikely. Stay tuned.

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## UNDERWORLD INTRIGUES

Three period dramas unfold in foreign cities riven by undeclared wars

**THE SILENT OF THE LAMB**, the box of Saigon, the Berlin Wall. These are the respective settings for *City of God*, *The Quiet American* and *The Tunnel*, three paroxysms about an undeclared war. They're all dreams of divided cities. They all bear the tattoo of authenticity that comes from being those locations in places still scarred by the ones they left. And at a time when the Hollywood studios are in the thick of an Oscar campaign—busting the drums for second-wave comedies like *Gangs of New York*, *The Tie Toretto* and *Chicago*—it's refreshing to see movies that any grounded in the oral politics of a recognizable world.

*City of God*, itself an Oscar contender for best foreign film, is the most popular movie in Brazil in decades. The film refers to the *Quinta de Deus*, a massive housing project started in the 1960s on the outskirts of Rio de Janeiro to warehouse the poor. Based on the epic novel by Brazil's Paulo Lins, the story tracks the lives of gang slinging children who grow up to become teenage drug lords. The movie was shot in two other countries, or, perhaps—in one of them, permission had to be secured from the local drug bosses. Most of the city's 200 adolescents boys were recruited from city slums, through an acting school run by the filmmakers. The result is a raw, urgent

island of God, characters played by Rodriguez (left) and Bingen escape from ghetto gunfire

version, punctuated with a red-hot sense of style. Imagine the street kids of the French classic *Portuguese Third World* Sciarra directed with the time-shifting sleight of hand of Mexico's Amores Perros. Or imagine director, screenwriter Martin Scorsese, with the Catholic guilt.

From the opening sequence of a chicken being chased through the streets—with the camera adopting the chicken's point of view—*City of God* is on a mission to entertain. Shooting from the hip, Brazilian director Fernando Meirelles choreographs the action as a carnival of kinetic energy. And it's set to a soundtrack that shimmers from bossa nova to samba to James Brown funk, as the drama escalates from a delinquent sense of "cops 'n' robbers to cocaine-coddler master. The narrative winds through three era, the late '60s, the '70s and early '80s, with teenagers replacing child actors in the same roles. Like in many gangster movies, this one's a rite of passage from innocence to corruption/killers and games and sometimes loss of eye. And the neorealist narrative reveals the adventurous side of Godofredo—with the main character calling the play by play in a drowsy, surnamed intertitle.

The Quiet American is, well, quieter

island of God, characters played by Rodriguez (left) and Bingen escape from ghetto gunfire

The narrator is a bumbling photographer named Bachelet (Alexandre Rodrigues), a neighborhood kid on the edge of the action. In the '60s, he's an 18-year-old hanging out with a gang of small time hoods, who include his brother. They have cartoon names like Shaggy, Clapper and Goose. A ruthless leader emerges from the pack: a street drug dealer named L'V Zé (Lázaro Ferreira da Hora), who has a psychopathic taste for kidnapping tourists. L'V Zé mistakes the good, good natured Benny (Edgar Ramírez), who tries to keep his partner in check. All hell breaks loose after a local conector named Kauchuk Ned joins a rival drug dealer to avenge his godfathers' rape. And the gang were riving through the *Quinta de Deus* and no one can even remember why—"people get used to living in *Westeros*," says Rodriguez.

Whipped outside this disliking underworld drama is Rodriguez's own modest adventure. On the beach, he makes a play for a nymph named Angelica (Alice Braga, nice of Saigo) only to lose her to Benny, who gives her a stolen car keys—which Bachelet will use to literally shoot his way out of the ghetto. In *City of God*, photography serves as a composite metaphor, with cinematographer Cesar Charlone financing his own cowboy machismo. This is a movie about shooting, and shooting. Behind it, in the other world of the favela's dirt streets and the harsh eyes of the children, there are bloodthirsty glimpses of Rio's social reality. After two hours of dizzying mayhem, that almost gets lost in the dust. And we're left with *Gangs of Rio*, a boyish no fear of film-making. But it sure beats *Gangs of New York*.

The Quiet American is, well, quieter

island of God, characters played by Rodriguez (left) and Bingen escape from ghetto gunfire

Despite some opulent visuals from cinematographer Chris Doyle (who shot Wong Kar-wai's *In the Mood for Love*), there's nothing雌雄同体 about an old-fashioned style. *Westworld* is Ha Chi Minh City dressed in colonial Stage, done in an elegant period piece in which everything, from the background rockhounds to the silent sound track, seems like stage. Fortunately, however, there's more to movies than style. Drawing on Oscar-caliber performances from Michael Caine, Australian director Phillip Noyce has fashioned an honest and remarkably relevant adaptation of Graham Greene's precatastrophic 1955 novel, which exposes the roots of American interference in Vietnam.

Set in 1952, it's the story of a triangle, both romantic and political. Englishman Tom Fowler (Caine) has joined a group of young journalists based in French colonial Saigon. He's shacked up with a young Vietnamese beauty named Phuong, doesn't marry her because his Catholic wife had home infarction to give him a divorce. Enter Alain Pyle, an American aid worker in an ice-exceptional played by a callow Brad Pitt. Pyle makes friends with Fowler, thus promptly falls in love with his girlfriend. It's soon apparent that Pyle's am-uchka show of movie clowns CIA cover for more nefarious designs—sponsoring a Third Force, led by the puppet General Thieu, to challenge the French and the Communists.

Caine, who spent so much of his mid-career as a neoprene director, comes into his own as Fowler. He's found the sad, and often-painful look behind the cigar character that launched his career, the likes of Alfie and Harry Palmer. With his heavy-lidded eyes

These movies bear the tattoo of authenticity that comes from being shot in places still scarred by the stories they tell

in Iraq war-bent. The *Quiet American* is more neatly than ever. The movie concludes with a blistering final downward bony of how the U.S. blundered into the Pandemic box of Vietnam. And when Pyle describes America as a country of abusers, not colonizers—“We are here to save Vietnam from all of that”—the rhetoric sounds as fresh as last week's State of the Union address.

The *Tunnel* is a Cold War thriller about a world that seems more safely locked in the past. It's now hard to believe that in perspective a well-meaning Berlin, and that people risked death trying to cross it. The German TV movie, now being the unavailably released, tells the true story of a small group who spear rose month during a 145-nighter under the Wall in 1981. They're led by the bearded Harry Melchior (Heiko Fleiss), an East German running champion who has escaped to the West but determined to rescue his sister, Lucia (Alexandra Maria Lara). The project's mastermind is Harry's best friend, Mathias (Sebastian Koch), an engineer who escaped through the tunnels while his pregnant girl friend, Carola, was caught and imprisoned by East German soldiers.

The story is riddled with cloak-and-dagger intrigues. On the East German side a Stasi colonel blackmails Carola into spying on Lucia. And among the tunnelers, a fiery partisan named Franti (Nicollette Krebs) slips messages to her lover across the Wall. At times, the drama finds the turned-up suspense of a TV movie, but works. Besides, it all began as a TV movie, in 1981—so we see an NBC crew negotiating to finance the narrative in return for the right to film the digging and the escape. Now that's reality TV.



## THINGS WE DO FOR LOVE

Barbara Gowdy regards old terrain in a new way

**A CLEAN-FREAK** mother who vacuums the air, the heater to catch the dust before a serious, wordily obsessed father who excludes the birthday of Peter Mark Roger, inventor of the thesaurus; and a daughter who from childhood loves with an insatiable totality. Yes, indeed, Barbara Gowdy's back, and in familiar, fictional territory with *The Romantic* (HarperCollins). Her last novel, *Giffer* (montage: *The White Rose* (1989)), had characters who seemed fairly animal in the way they thought and felt, even if they were elephants. The animals seemed to prefer their lovers to be alive, for one thing, and they all had a species-appropriate number of limbs, unlike two of Gowdy's earlier human creatures. No one is anywhere near that out in *The Romantic*, but each character remains fugitive for the author's darkly comic sensibility and her talent for making the weird seem almost mundane.

Naïve Louise Kirk, born like Gowdy, in 1990 and raised, again like the novelist, in a Toronto suburb, begins the story of her life at 10, on the day the father finally moves out. She can even remember the exact day—Aug. 8—because her parents often told her she was conceived on that day (A touch of Gowdy humour: the Kirk's, despite their name, are not churchgoers, and don't seem to care about that date). In the *Fear of the Irreversible Conception* (Louise's memoir, beautiful mother abruptly left her and her father a year before, until the child would thus neatly transfer her mate's devotion to someone else).

She pied Mrs. Reeves, and tries to follow her about in the local grocery store, mentally projecting purchase suggestions, as well as more plaintive hopes: "Turn around and see the girl in pink shorts, love her, want to adopt her." Soon Louise switches her affections to the Reeves' adopted son, Abel. Despite increasing causes for panic and bygones absent, Abel means Louise's true love until the damage from alcoholism



The novelist's dark humour can on the like a slap at emotionally wrenching points

drives him to suicide on her 26th birthday. Abel is a maddeningly pensive—gated, sensitive and profoundly passive—so much for the reader in far Louise, who cannot imagine how he could take the steps that would save his life. There are few clues in the novel to explain him, or anyone else for that matter. His name—Abel in full—is taken from the Bible's first murder victim, but Peter Abelard, 12th-century French theologian and romantic icon. Abelard's beloved, Héloïse, born a French version of Louise's name. The medieval lovers were as star-crossed as could be. Héloïse's uncle, enraged to learn she was pregnant by the supposedly obscene cleric, tried to drown Abelard in a tub. Louise's brief considers their fates in a search for clues to Abel's and her own.

She's had that reaction, though, and neither is Gowdy. The Romantic is not a novel of issues, but of effects. Abel's dishevel is the stuff, in her perpetual expansion of the end, late variety of love—and what people will do in its pursuit—Gowdy isn't matching her characters, she's humanizing them. ■

hilarious, is sympathetic to focused on the collision of those two realities. Yet by the novel's end, Louise displays a change in this state, a developing self-awareness that marks a growth in Gowdy's own art.

But if wordless is no longer celebrated for its own sake, neither is it mocked. Some critics have accused Gowdy of doing just that in the past, setting up her grotesques like pens to be bowled over by her black humor. And it is true that the humor can serve like a slap, a deliberate distancing at emotionally wrenching points, as if Gowdy finds she is flagellating her sensibility. It's more often, for instance, that an author can wring laughs from an abortion. But it's also evident the bitter jokes mingle with cries of grief, or that both are disturbed by some of the best prose in a finely written novel. "My hand is lame," Louise declares, "the absence of pain is sharp in a recovered sense."

He Señor Loses His Love is the name of Gowdy's acclaimed 1992 short-story collection, and a fit title for her entire body of work. In her perpetual expansion of the end, late variety of love—and what people will do in its pursuit—Gowdy isn't matching her characters, she's humanizing them. ■

## CLOSING NOTES



TV | 48

Feeding your appetite for good TV  
Larry Sherry, the creator of *Sherry's*, is George Costanza-like in his latest, award-winning show.



PEOPLE | 50

Back on the operatic stage  
After spending 2002 hunting his ailing voice and finishing his chores, Toronto-based tenor Bob Beppien is heading into an incredibly busy year, starting with a stint at that Met. There will be the difficult role of Aeneas in *Medea* Berlin's *Les Troyens*.



Medicine | It takes a community to save a turtle

inspired by her children, Hilda is looking into the science of shells

THE DETAILS

For more info on turtles and how to make a donation go to [www.turtlearts.ca](http://www.turtlearts.ca).

Hilda, whose patients are literally cut and bled, began experimenting in turtle-shell repair. "It's an extremely unexplored discipline," she says, adding there was some information about shell patches in her university textbooks. First she cleans the wound, then takes a patch made of fiberglass cloth found at Canadian Tire, and applies it to the shell with epoxy, making a cast-like covering.

So far, Hilda, 39, has treated to 25 turtles. Some have not survived their injuries, but others have recovered and been released to the wild. And eight turtles are currently recuperating at the local no. Hilda plans she'll be swarming with patients in summer. The inflame, the centre will need funds. "Right now we have space for 12 turtles," she says, then adds jokingly, "and \$30 in the bank." But Hilda is certain the it's lots of people out there willing to help—people who won't mind. KAREN HICKS



Listings | Arts & Science

Planes by the Billion  
Levi's March 16  
The Montreal  
Plataforma show  
exhibits advertising  
in ancient Greece,  
Renaissance Italy and  
at Hawaii's 1960s  
modern Meiji Koen  
observatory  
mural

Marathons Still  
Highjacked  
Feb. 25-March 8  
Milo's Art Productions  
presents a theatrical  
adaptation of this  
classic 1950  
novel by **Irvin S. Cobb**,  
the author of  
*Roaring Camp*

FORMA  
Feb. 13-16  
The East Coast Music  
Association holds  
a four-day festival  
with concerts—and  
a film festival—  
at the Canadian  
Cinematheque in  
Cinematheque  
in Ottawa.

25th Annual Toronto  
Festival of Storytelling  
Feb. 14-25  
The Other 120  
Monsters will never  
take all for ages, in  
venues ranging from  
theatre to churches  
Toronto

Visitors to independent  
Film + Video Festival  
Feb. 7-18  
In its new years,  
Film + Video  
visitors draw a wide  
audience and big  
names like Mira  
Nogami and Arthur  
Hicks, who  
attended in 2001.  
Victoria



### Film | Daddy's little girl now director's leading lady

When Vancouver director Guy Pearce wrote a script about a single father and his teenage daughter, he gave it to his then 18-year-old daughter, Sonja, to read. Although Sonja was a surprising actress, Guy said her "if this gets made, I really want Sonja to play" - maybe I can get you in as an extra."

But this was on Pearce's side. The film, *Push*, about an unbreakable close and bumbling-on-crazy father-daughter relationship, took years to make. All the while, Sonja was taking Oscar gigs in *Monuments*. "By the time we were ready to cast," says Guy, "I was a fan of her work." Sonja, now 23, is electrifying in *Push* as the violent and manipulative, yet ultimately sympathetic, daughter.

SHARNA BEZEL

Her performance drew the attention of executives at Fox Broadcasting Co., who are currently auditioning her for TV pilots. "With *Push* opening in Canada this week, Guy, 43, and Sonja are fielding questions about their relationship. Guy says that until Sonja was 18, she was the only woman in his life and they were not attached. But he considers the film a won-cause scenario—what could have happened had he not recognized he was "using" her as an asset for his line of work." Sonja agrees. Pearce is very much her dad's view and she would have proposed something completely different. The actress is going nuclear to Hollywood, she doesn't really mind.

SHARNA BEZEL

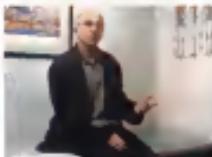


### Diversions | Sonja Smits

The Toronto-based actress (The *Reverent*) now gives her current focus: BOOKS: *MIDDLE AGE & VIRTUE* by Joyce Carol Oates. "Very funny. It's about how one man's death affects the women and men who were in love with him."

MOVIES: *CHICAGO*. Catherine Zeta-Jones looks like she's having a blast. And Renée Zellweger is perfect as the climb. *Review*

### TV | Master of his domain



TV wouldn't be so agreeable if it were entirely legal. Then you could just press the mute button in your brain and pig out on briechees, briochees, but does red all the other small-bitey junk that results from little time you have a carnivore-maintenance. But every so often the medium serves up gourmet fare, making the 200-channel smorgasbord seem not much a rip-off after all. Unfortunately, viewers have to wait forever for the good stuff, so fans of *Seinfeld*, add it between sessions and then there can avoid superfluous (and particularly non, but it keeps cropping up just when you've lost all hope). There was *SDTV* in the '70s and '80s, then *Smartfile*, The *Larry Sanders Show* and *My Man in the '90s*. The post-white has been particularly brutal, but has come back. *Curse Your Generation*, The *Movie Network* has been serving the brilliant *HBO* movies since 2001, and on *TVs*, 11:30 p.m. it runs *Shameless, Redefined*.

*Redefined*, which just now is taking off. For some, it's reminiscent of *Seinfeld*—not surprising, given that its creator, writer and star, Larry David, was an *editor* (as in television) producer of the hit show as the new series follows him, as he writes back to *Seinfeld's* success, and he renounces the assumption that was rampant in the 1990s: *Curse Your Generation* (the fiction). Larry is basically a good guy, but he's not above lying to avoid some minor task or to save face. And for the rest of us, it is, well, while it's expressive dialogue and real-seeming people, there's a strong sense of Larry as a know-it-all, and much of the comedy's success lies in its ability to both appeal and endear him to viewers.

FREDICA HUCHY

### TV | Unbreakable bonds

*THE BOYS OF BUCHENWALD*  
History Channel, Fri. 8, 10 p.m.  
At the beginning of the Second World War, there were 3.5 million Jewish children in Europe. Only 100,000 survived the concentration camps—including 1,000 children liberated by Buchenwald by the U.S. army on April 11, 1945. With no suitable orphans to house, France's Deuxième Secours Aux Enfants took hundreds of Buchenwald's boys and placed them in a children's home in Ecouis. This powerful film shows how the refugees these young orphans found in their new world saved them to one another and helped them: relationships that have survived to this day. And it documents the "boy" emotional return to France in 2000, 57 years after they dispersed to various places around the world. "France was the habitat of our soul, of our existence," says Robert Hirschman, who after France, moved to a foster home in Calgary in April 1947. "Everything they did was to save us so that I survived hell."



France provided for *The Boys of Buchenwald*

### UNDYING LOVE

EDTV, Fri. 7, 9 p.m.

Anna新的man says Hitler was her matchmaker. But her husband, David, can bring himself to any the scene— even though they did meet in a Nazi work camp in Poland in 1940. His parents did call there love-dart. Fate is a theme that runs throughout this one-hour special, featuring stories of young Jewish couples who either met during the war or who had their love relationships interrupted by it, only to find and marry their partners later in life. (Three of the couples profiled eventually moved to Canada.) In touching interviews, which are accompanied by black and white film footage and still photos, they speakout about the horrors they must have endured, but of the love they knew was blossoming or waiting. By keeping their partners in their hearts, they survived. In telling these stories, these men and women don't shed a tear, but sadness should be present to

REVIEWS BY AMY CAMERON AND SHARNA BEZEL



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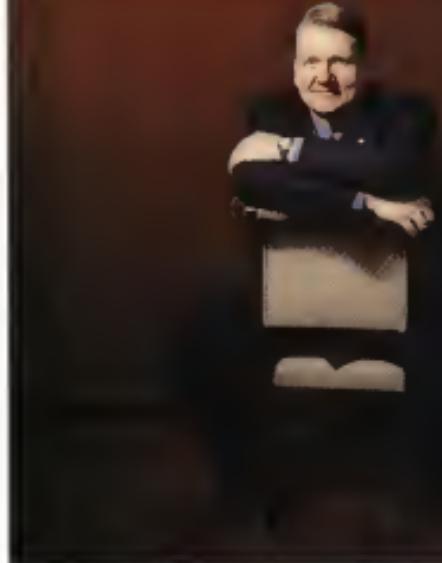
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## People | Tenor of Troy

Ben Heppner—the 47-year-old dramatic tenor who's performed in the world's premier opera houses—doesn't sing in the shower. It's too loud in there, he says. "The Murrayville, B.C. born-and-dan does, however, hum just standards when cleaning out the garage of his Toronto home—a chore he finally got around to last year while taking time off to treat his voice and hang out with his family. Heppner's back at the Met

Berlioz's epic, *Les Troyens*, opening at New York City's Metropolitan Opera on Feb. 10. This is not, Heppner admits, a part one takes on lightly. "It's an uncessantly heroic role both in terms of its size and scope," he says. "And it's a great vocal challenge. Very few tenors tackle this in their lifetime. If you do, it gives you pause as to what you are undertaking."

In the opera, Aeneas, leader of the Trojan army, leaves his devastated city in order to go and build Rome—making a trip so arduous long enough to fall in love with its queen, Didon. "When these epic parts," says Heppner, "we need to somehow embody the humanity. If we just embody the heroism, we miss the journey."

The past year—while singing for his first-

After time off to heal his voice and hang out with his family, Heppner's back at the Met

AMY CARMICHAEL

## Books | A lightweight work of scintillating wit

Like good words of art, books—especially good books—need to have them left out of them occasionally. New York playwright J. E. Miller does the job admirably with *Her Sausage* (Henry and other Lunacy Press, \$16). Highlights of Miller's refreshingly collection include the title, a sausages Selman Fraske-esque account of some truly dispensable health care workers. "They make fun of your hospital diagnoses, they make you put into a small paper cage." There's also "Golita," supposedly by Vladimir Nabokov, detailing the narrator's obsession with an elderly woman, and "Lure of the Stomps," a takeoff on J.R. Salter's *Breakfast at Tiffanys* but for comic telltales, the "lure" in Miller's title is "regular lifelessness." Just witness of death's Ashes, Frank McCourt's power than a sturdy Python's fangs—millions of children's memoirs of growing up in the mean streets of Limerick, Ireland.

"Michael has dragged home another dead dog and we toss it in the pot with some carrots and lentil soup," says 8½% Christmas, it is."



## BESTSELLERS

### Fiction

	PAPERBACK WEB
1. <i>DISGRACE</i> OF THAILAND, Richard Lederer (D)	1
2. <i>THE ADVENTURE BROTHERS</i> , Jason and Simon Hall	1
3. <i>SHAKESPEARE'S ROME</i> , Alan Strachan (D)	1
4. <i>THE CRIMSON PETAL AND THE NAPALM</i> , Michael Cerveris (D)	1
5. <i>THE PUBLISHER</i> , Michael Crummie (D)	1
6. <i>THE MARRIAGE OF MR. FISH</i> , Wayne Johnston (D)	1
7. <i>THEY'LL HOLLOW THE HOLLOW</i> , Peter Pelta (D)	1
8. <i>THE LAST GARDENER</i> , Guy Vanderhaeghe (D)	1
9. <i>BAKINGDAD</i> , Lemire, Eric (D)	1
10. <i>STANLEY AND STAN</i> , Adrienne Shelly (D)	1

### Non-fiction

1. <i>POSS-IT! Always Multitask</i> , Michael J. S.	1
2. <i>SCARF BIRKIE BACK: Minimum Wage</i> (D)	1
3. <i>THE IRISH REBEL</i> , Pádraig Ó Siadhail	1
4. <i>GATE FIVE: BORDER AND JAILS</i> , Peter Kortman (D)	1
5. <i>BEHIND THE BARS</i> , Bill McDonald (D)	1
6. <i>1000</i> (Cats) (D)	1
7. <i>ARMED AND DANGEROUS</i> (D)	1
8. <i>LEARNERSHIP</i> , Daniel Pink (D)	1
9. <i>THE TENT AMERICANS</i> , Charles E. G. (D)	1
10. <i>Historical Atlas of Canada</i> , Bruce Trigger (D)	1

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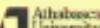
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